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Lunfardo and Gendered Discourse: Creation and Analysis of a Linguistic Corpus of Tango Lyrics

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THE UNIVERSITY
of EDINBURGH

2020

Declaration

This is to certify that the work contained within has been composed by me and is entirely my own work except where explicitly stated otherwise in the text by reference. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signed:

Elaine Newton-Bruzza

Abstract

This thesis explores the question of how language is used to construct gender in tango lyrics, and it specifically examines *lunfardo* cultural markers and explores the ways in which these contribute to gendered discourse in the texts. The purpose of this research is twofold: (1) to create the first ever linguistic corpus of tango lyrics, thereby generating a resource that will stimulate further investigation into this topic, and (2) to analyze the relationship between specific gender-related *lunfardo* terms and discourse prosodies as identified via a corpus linguistics-based analysis of the texts. The linguistic variety *lunfardo* has been intrinsically linked with tango from its inception and constitutes the distinctive linguistic feature of the texts. This interdisciplinary study investigates how the use of *lunfardo* vocabulary provides a type of linguistic scaffolding upon which the cultural construction of gender is erected in tango lyrics.

Through the creation of the first linguistic corpus of tango lyrics utilizing Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff and Rychlý) and the analysis of selected terms and their collocates, gendered discourse prosodies are identified in the lyrics and quantified. The data from this research establishes that the effects of linguistic variety (i.e. *lunfardo* and standard Spanish) and gendered terms in the corpus have a statistically significant impact on the creation of discourse prosodies, and reveals unforeseen ways in which *lunfardo* is preeminent in the construction of gendered discourse in tango lyrics. This thesis then employs a data-driven approach to facilitate and strengthen an analysis of pragmatic and rhetorical elements in representative lyrics through close readings of those texts, presenting evidence for the gendered discourses derived from both the collocational relationships and the statistical results.

Through this methodology, this research contributes to an understanding of *lunfardo*'s impact on the construction of gendered discourse, and also to a nuanced understanding of representations of men and women in tango lyrics. By creating this initial Tango Lyrics Corpus, this research purports to incentivize and facilitate the development of a comprehensive linguistic corpus of tango lyrics with the goal of expanding knowledge of this unique cultural form.

Lay Summary

This thesis explores the question of how language is used to construct gender in tango lyrics, and it specifically examines how a particular vocabulary known as *lunfardo* contributes to gendered discourse in the texts. The purpose of this research is twofold: (1) to create the first ever linguistic corpus of tango lyrics, thereby generating a resource that will stimulate further investigation into this topic, and (2) to analyze the relationship between specific gender-related *lunfardo* terms and gendered themes by means of corpus linguistics-based tools and analysis of the texts. In this first linguistic corpus of tango lyrics and the analysis of selected terms and their surrounding words, gendered semantic prosodies are identified in the lyrics and quantified. I show how the data establishes that linguistic variety (i.e. *lunfardo* and standard Spanish) and gendered terms in the corpus have a statistically significant impact on the creation of gendered semantic prosodies, and I reveal unforeseen ways in which *lunfardo* is critical to creating gendered discourse in tango lyrics. Driven by the data results, this thesis then engages in an analysis of linguistic and literary elements in representative lyrics through close readings of those texts. Through this mixed-methodological approach, this research contributes to an understanding of *lunfardo*'s impact on the construction of gendered discourse, and also to a nuanced understanding of representations of men and women in tango lyrics. By creating this initial Tango Lyrics Corpus, this research constitutes the preliminary step in the development of a comprehensive linguistic corpus of tango lyrics, having the goal of expanding knowledge of this unique cultural form.

Acknowledgements

I am immensely grateful to both of my supervisors, Dr. Iona Macintyre and Dr. Fiona J. Mackintosh for their incredible support and unwavering faith in me during this Ph.D. They truly went above and beyond in their encouragement for my work and my personal well-being and I will be forever thankful for this. My gratitude also goes to Dr. Sebnam Susam-Saraeva, Dr. Carlos Soler Montes, Dr. Huw Lewis, and Dr. Michael Ramsammy for their invaluable input, advice, and support, and to the Translation Studies department for giving me opportunities to share my work. Enthusiastic thanks go to Dr. Fang Jackson-Yang and Nikolaus Theodoropoulos from PPLS for pointing me to linear mixed effects models and for getting me oriented with R code. Thanks also to Zander Crook—“Regression is great!”—for his help with my statistics. The folks you meet along the way are the best part of any journey, and I’m grateful for friends both old and new: Barbara, Jennifer (march on!), Raquel, Helena, Charlotte, Clara, Natasha, Charles and our Gaelic clan, *Poema de la semana*, WOLS (Slàinte mhath!), and Marcela Cinta, whose enthusiasm for my desire to become a translator started me down this amazing path all those years ago. I also thank my friend and life coach, Isabelle Brent, and my trainer, Lynne Pearson, who kept me going and toughened me up throughout.

Quiero agradecer a la Academia Porteña del Lunfardo—sobre todo a su presidente Otilia Da Veiga y a su bibliotecario piola Marcos Blum. Ellos me aportaron un apoyo invaluable para mi investigación, inclusive todas las charlas agradables y consultas con Otilia, además del mate cocido que me preparaba Marcos para calentar las horas de trabajo y el corazón. También agradezco muchísimo a Oscar Conde por su generosidad en compartir su obra y sus pensamientos conmigo.

Finally, my love and thanks to my family— Mom, Dad, Alicia, Allen, Josh, and *Llamile y mi familia argentina*—thank you for your encouragement, patience, and support while I went off half way ‘round the world chasing dreams. Especial gratitude is due to my children, Yamile and Matías Bruzza, for their unswerving love and belief in their mom—your faith in me has made it possible to realize this incredible dream.

You are my inspiration and my reason for being.

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Notes

Tango

In this work, “tango” refers to the Argentinian and Uruguayan tradition of tango, focusing on its textual forms, as recognized by UNESCO and inscribed in 2009 on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (“Tango”). Other offshoots of this tradition, such as Ballroom tango and Finnish tango, are not considered in this thesis. The source(s) for each tango lyric mentioned in the thesis are cited in text at the first mention of the lyric; the full reference may be found in the Works Cited list. In this research, I have deferred to the dates of authorship of the lyrics as opposed to that of recordings, as the written works are the focus of this study.

Lunfardo

Lunfardo is a linguistic variety that originated in Buenos Aires in the nineteenth century and is the focus of this study. Details of its origins, uses, meanings, and dispersion to other areas will be discussed in detail in chapter three. I wish to clarify that when the word *lunfardo* is used as the name of the linguistic variety it is not capitalized in this thesis, however *Lunfardo* as the name of a data subset is.

Glossary

This thesis contains many *lunfardo* words that may be unfamiliar to most readers, therefore any terms requiring elucidation can be found in the glossary. As necessary, a brief one or two-word gist definition of obscure terms will be given in the text of the thesis at the first mention, however the reader is encouraged to consult the glossary for nuanced meanings. Additionally, *lunfardo* cultural markers or other terms that do not have a one or two-word equivalent in English are indicated by “See glossary” in a footnote. Finally, other cultural terms such as those referring to musical or dance genres will be similarly highlighted and may also be found in the glossary.

Translation and transcription

All translations in this thesis are mine unless otherwise indicated. For illustrative purposes to broaden access to this thesis, I have only translated lines of lyrics to English that contain *lunfardo* terms or cultural markers that may not be readily understood by a reader of Spanish, otherwise it is assumed that the reader has sufficient understanding of Spanish to comprehend the text. Rendering the meaning of the source text was the translational priority, however I interspersed my translations with some U.S. slang to capture the tone of the *lunfardo* from the source texts.

For the purposes of historical accuracy, transcriptions of the lyrics have not been modernized to accommodate contemporary Spanish conventions (e.g. the use or omission of diacritical marks, such as *fué* vs. *fue*). Furthermore, I have deferred to capitalization as found in my sources, which at times does not follow conventional Spanish patterns (e.g. “El Portañito” and “La Morocha,” but “El taita” and “El Taita del arrabal”). For the most part, I have followed Romano for my transcriptions; the rationale for this is in chapter one, section 1.2 on methodology.

Language and Style

I use standard U.S. English in this thesis, following MLA Handbook 8th Edition style guide for conventions, in-text citations, and the Works Cited.

Appendices and data

The appendices contain the most pertinent supplemental information for this thesis, while all other data files from this research are stored on the University of Edinburgh server.

Introduction

Rationale

In the tango lyric, “Mano a mano,” a jilted lover rails against the woman who has evidently left him for another, wealthier man. He paints a poetical picture of the innocent girl he once loved and then lambastes her for the depraved gold digger he believes she has since become:

*Se dio el juego de remanye
cuando vos, pobre percanta,
gambeteabas la pobreza
en la casa de pensión;
Hoy sos toda una bacana,
la vida te ríe y canta,
los morlacos del otario
los tirás a la marchanta
como juega el gato maula
con el mísero ratón.”*

(Gobello *Letras* 68-69; Romano 39-40)

*I had your number from the get-go
back when you, poor slip-of-a girl,
barely cut it hand to mouth down
in that shabby boarding house;
Now you're quite the fancy lady,
life is just a bowl of cherries.
You spend all of that square's moola,
and you play him for a sucker
just the way a feckless cat plays
with a miserable mouse.*

At first glance, many tango lyrics appear to present similar vignettes of the limited range of gendered positions of men and women from a decidedly patriarchal viewpoint. Recent studies have focused on this unmistakably stereotypical way of portraying male and female characters and their respective gendered behavior roles in tango lyrics, ranging from analysis of tuberculosis as metaphor for the consequences suffered by women who deviate from established social norms (Armus 187-207) and arguments for the lyrics' broader use as morality propaganda to keep bourgeois women in line (Feldman 1-15), to tango and the victimization of women in tango as a metaphor for colonization (Savigliano *Tango*), as well as tango interpreted from the perspective of psychoanalysis (Capello et al.). Similarly, Argentinian masculinity has been evaluated using tango as a metaphor for male identity, particularly in the works of Argentinian poet and essayist Jorge Luis Borges (*El tango; Obras*) and Archetti (*Masculinities*), emphasizing aggressive and domineering behavior in men.

Upon closer examination, however, the representations of women and men in tango lyrics are more highly diverse than it would first appear. Sainted mothers, innocent sweethearts, and pitiable spinsters live, love, and break their hearts alongside the gold diggers, kept women, taxi dancers, and cabaret derelicts such as the aforementioned *bacana* that stereotypically dominate popular imagination when it comes to tango. Likewise their male counterparts: the gangsters and godfathers, pimps, poseurs, dandies, distraught fathers, and broken-hearted lovers represent a much broader variety of men in tango than just the cliché of the aggressive *compadrito*.¹ Any study of gendered discourse in tango lyrics therefore has to take a holistic view of gendered representation, for it must be kept in mind that, as Wharton (6) states: “gender itself is *relational*: Understanding what women are or can be thus requires attention to what men are or can be.” Considering that the vast majority of tango lyrics were composed by men, primarily about men and their relationships with women, and these lyricists used the popular language of *lunfardo* to construct their poetry, thereby creating a perception of gender and gender roles peculiar to the milieu of tango, any discussion of female gender must necessarily be juxtaposed with a simultaneous interrogation of that of the male.²

This study takes an interdisciplinary and mixed-methods approach to examine gender representations in order to gain insight into the portrayal of women and men in tango lyrics, as well as into the culturally specific use of *lunfardo* terms involved in these characterizations. From the perspective of Latin American studies this thesis engages with Argentinian and Uruguayan history and culture via the representation of women and men in tango lyrics. From the disciplines of Linguistics and Translation Studies (via the use of corpus tools) it identifies and examines cultural markers (discussed in chapter one) pertaining to women and men and the discourse prosodies

¹ See glossary and section 1.1.3 of this chapter for descriptions of this highly complex character in tango.

² Savigliano states: “I found that fewer than two per cent of all tangos have been written by women, and fewer than four percent (including those written by men) put tango lyrics between female lips” (“Whiny Ruffians” 89). Tango lyrics encompass a myriad of subjects, not merely romantic relationships and gendered positions, but these predominate and will be the focus of this thesis.

emanating from these terms.³ A significant outcome of this research is the creation of the first ever linguistic tango lyrics corpus. In other words, the newly created Tango Lyrics Corpus is one that is designed as a dedicated repository of tango lyrics that is purposed for linguistic research. A significant gap in the area of tango research is the lack of a tango lyrics corpus specifically designed for linguistic research, as will be addressed further in the thesis statement.

To date there have been few, if any, in-depth studies that have sought to examine how language use expressly contributes to constructing gender in tango lyrics or how women and men in tango songs are portrayed vis-à-vis cultural markers, specifically *lunfardo* terms. Other research has tended to focus on examining tango at the textual, rather than the lexical, level. For example, following another line of inquiry in examining gender in tango lyrics—the question of poetic voice—Dulce Dalbosco demonstrates that a feminine voice does, indeed, exist in tango lyrics, notwithstanding their apparently masculine slant (“Prestame” 180-95). Dalbosco alludes to societal changes that were occurring during the height of tango’s popularity, stating in her conclusion that unwittingly or not, male tango lyricists “estaban poniendo al descubierto la redefinición de la mujer en la cultura” (194), an important consideration in evaluating the results of this research. Nevertheless her study does not encompass a focused consideration of representations of gender via specific lexical terms, how these are employed in the lyrics, and to what effect; this thesis aims to fill that gap.

The ways in which specific lexical terms are instrumental in constructing gendered discourse, are therefore central to this research. Without the close scrutiny that is presented in this thesis, only conjectures may be made as to affect (negative, neutral, or positive) regarding gender stereotypes based on certain lexical choices. For example, in *lunfardo*, a *piba* is a young girl, connoting affection (Conde *Diccionario* 256) and in several tangos, this term is used to evoke a memory of an innocent past. In contrast, the word *milonguera* and its variations (*milonga*, *milonguita*, *milonguerita*),

³ Also known as “semantic prosodies” (Stubbs 65-66), these are essentially patterns of discourse and will be defined later in this chapter.

another *lunfardo* term for a woman, may have a harsher, or at least worldlier, connotation, as it is also defined as meaning “bailarina contratada en locales de diversión, copera” (Conde *Diccionario* 221); and indeed *milonguita* is considered to be the most common gendered female figure in tango lyrics (Dalbosco “La construcción” 29). In evaluating concrete discourse prosodies created by such terms, this research clarifies and nuances how *lunfardo* cultural markers portray women and men, whether in a positive, neutral, or negative light, verifying or, in some cases, disrupting the composite of mythologized characters that have led to reductive generalizations about gender roles in tango over the decades.

In her study, *Intersecting Tango. Cultural Geographies of Buenos Aires, 1900-1930*, Adriana Bergero proposes that the *milonguitas* of tango, the stereotype of the female tango-dancer, are likened to the sirens of classical mythology: skilled temptresses who lure men with songs of adulation and sensual promises that ultimately lead to death (218). She suggests that women’s growing awareness of their own potential for power, particularly of their sexual empowerment as it manifested itself in the act of dancing tango, posed a hazard “whose novelty, threats, and risks must be controlled, because they disguise a search for identity that entails an irrevocable break with convention” (219) and that this in turn triggered the manufacture of “a body of literary texts, popular works, tango lyrics, photographs, medical reports, and municipal bylaws” that perpetuated the myth of woman as potential threat to male domination. She ponders: “We must ask why [...] women’s quests for alternative identities to motherhood were automatically translated, in this *porteño* [Buenos Aires] imaginary, into the lethal overconfidence of the femme fatale” (219). Insofar as it is vital to understanding the sociocultural context of tango and its lyrics, I agree with Bergero in asking the question; however I also question whether her approach views matters strictly through a patriarchally tinted lens—seeing only the punitive in the lyrics, and not the liberating. Certainly, the male gaze is inescapable given the prevalence of male authorship, but regarding the female characters I endeavor to go beyond the *milonguita* stereotype to explore other facets of femininity

in tango. Through detailed analyses of collocational relationships of the words in tango texts, I explore these aspects of femininity in tango in order to promote a female perspective.

Thesis Statement

The purpose of this research is therefore twofold: 1) to create the first ever linguistic corpus of tango lyrics, thereby generating a resource that will stimulate further investigation into this topic, and 2) to explore the effects of specific gender-related *lunfardo* terms on discourse prosodies as identified via a corpus linguistics-based analysis of the texts. In the first phase of the research—with the creation of this exploratory corpus—including a system of thematic categorization captured in the metadata, I also lay the foundation for the potential post-doctoral development of a larger tango lyrics corpus encompassing all extant texts of tango songs. At present there are no other corpora consisting solely of tango lyrics that are designed expressly for the study of these texts from a linguistic perspective. While certain websites, such as www.todotango.com, recognized as a site of National Interest by the Argentinian government (García Blaya, et al.) and <http://www.hermanotango.com.ar> (Sibilin), have endeavored to document tango lyrics, these sources are not devised for linguistic research and analysis and in themselves are not suitable for this research. Furthermore, the “Tango Lyrics Corpus” designed and created as part of this Ph.D. research has been tagged with metadata that has then informed the analysis undertaken in this study and will enhance future research by allowing data to be collected and analyzed based on a variety of criteria.⁴ By creating and analyzing a dedicated linguistic tango lyrics corpus, this research fills a significant gap in the study of tango in that it produces an important new resource for linguists wishing to study these texts, it leads the way in the systematic cataloging and preservation of tango lyrics, and it pioneers a linguistic methodology for analysis of gender construction in tango.

⁴ Specific metadata will be detailed in chapter four.

In the second aspect of this thesis I utilize this innovative tool and show how specific *lunfardo* cultural markers are used to construct gender in tango lyrics, particularly in their formation of discourse prosodies that reflect and reinforce gender constructions in the world of tango (Savigliano *Tango* 30-72). I argue that tango lyrics can give us a degree of insight into societal expectations of what women and men of a certain social class and time should do and how they should behave, while at the same time creating narratives about how women survived in such a male-dominated culture. Tango lyrics, as has been observed, were predominantly written by male lyricists, yet in spite of themselves the actions described therein—which are seen from the perspective of males reacting to female behavior—when compared to other more “factual” accounts of historical reality nevertheless seem to allow for a certain female “subversion” on the part of the females represented. I do not claim that this subversion, either as actually performed by historical individuals or as represented by their fictitious counterparts in the lyrics, was necessarily intended to be subversive, but rather, as a contemporary interpreter of tango lyrics, I believe that retrospectively this dimension can be teased out of the lyrics by careful analysis of the language used to represent men and women and their relationships, recuperating it from monolithic misogynistic stereotyping.

My study is thus constructed from these initial research questions:

1. How is language used to construct gender in tango lyrics?
 - 1.1. Which standard Spanish⁵ gender terms for men and women are used predominately, with what frequency, and what can be said about their affect?
 - 1.2. Which *lunfardo* cultural markers denoting men and women are used predominately, with what frequency, and what can be said about their affect?

⁵ Throughout this study, references to “standard Spanish” are used to refer to the dominant variety of Spanish in Argentina and Uruguay.

2. What do these uses of gender-specific terms and cultural markers tell us about representations of women and men portrayed in tango lyrics?
3. What role (if any) do the specific cultural markers play in creating these images?

As will be shown in the results of this study, *lunfardo* cultural markers and additionally, female gendered terms in particular, do, indeed, have statistically significant effects upon the creation of gendered discourse prosodies in tango lyrics and therefore address and validate the research questions.

Chapter One. Theoretical Framework and Thesis Structure

1.1 Theoretical Framework

1.1.1 Cultural Markers

One idiosyncrasy of tango lyrics is their liberal use of terms borrowed from *lunfardo*, a vocabulary particular to *porteño* Spanish. These terms may be very culturally specific to certain time periods, environments, and social strata in Buenos Aires, and oftentimes can be unperceived and overlooked by, or are incomprehensible to, native Argentinians not accustomed to the more obscure or archaic expressions (Moosekian 42-45). Tango lyrics are therefore marked by a lexicon that firmly embeds them in their culture of origin, imparting an unmistakable distinctiveness as well as a level of difficulty in their comprehension. In describing similarly culturally rich texts, Leticia Herrero explains:

El texto es así un conjunto de elementos culturales compartidos por una comunidad que los vincula a su experiencia; para el lector versado, son elementos profundamente connotativos en tanto coherentes con sus conocimientos, para el profano, carecen incluso de denotación y son pura forma lingüística. (311)

The abundant presence of such potentially obscure cultural elements begs their examination both as a means of understanding the text at its basic semantic level as well as a way of shedding light on how these terms may nuance the representation of women and men in the lyrics.

Borrowing from the field of Translation Studies, the commencement of the so-called “cultural turn” in the 1980s and 90s, which largely considers translation as a sociocultural phenomenon (Hurtado 607), has given rise to increased studies involving those aspects of culture that present especial challenges for translators. Various denominations for these cultural aspects have arisen, such as cultural elements, culture specific references or words, culture-bound elements, cultural bumps, cultural

markers, and culturemes (Saglia).⁶ In 1976, cultural theorist Fernando Poyatos coined the term “cultureme,” defining it as “any portion of cultural behavior apprehended in signs of symbolic value that can be broken down into smaller units or amalgamated into larger ones” and applied it to a “microanalytic method for the systematic analysis of a culture within any discipline” (266). *Lunfardo* terms, then, are quintessential cultural markers within the culture of tango, which in turn has become conflated with Argentinian national identity (Conde “Lunfardo in Tango” 33-59).

An effective description of cultural markers can be found in the following definition, which describes them thus:

1. Son elementos verbales (o paraverbales) que poseen una carga cultural específica.
2. Son palabras que concentran una capital simbólico acumulado por una tradición, una historia, una sociedad, difícil de preservar cuando las alejamos de éstas.
3. Son signos verbales que contienen un surplus de significado procedente de su fuerza social y simbólica. (Tricàs Preckler et al.)

Lucía Luque Nadal adds to this definition emphasizing the “complejidad estructural y simbólica” of cultural markers, elaborating them as units that constitute “una rutina o concatenación de causas y efectos que sirven como un programa de acción o una guía de interpretación de hechos y conductas” (107). She affirms that cultural markers give greater expressivity, color, and force to a rationale or line of argument and are multi-functional by nature, but also cautions that “estas funciones pueden aparecer aisladas pero que lo más frecuente es que un mismo culturema tenga simultáneamente en un texto determinado varias funciones: estética, argumentativa y cognitivo-hermenéutica” (109). Samuel Linnig’s famed lyric, “Milonguita (Esthercita)” (Gobello *Letras* 54-55; Romano 42-43), coined just such a cultural marker: *milonguita*,

⁶ The term *cultural marker* appears to have gained greater purchase in English (Saglia) and will be the denomination generally applied in this study. Citations will utilize the term preferred by the original author.

which may be said to encapsulate the archetype of the fallen woman, leading to a possible judgement or stereotype of any woman represented by the term.

How cultural markers come into being can be understood taking as a point of departure John Searle's work, *The Construction of Social Reality* (Searle). While Searle's theory was developed primarily to explain institutional facts rather than social objects (Smith and Searle 285-309), with some extrapolation, his ideas can be used to understand how cultural markers evolve. To summarize, something that may be considered as a "brute fact," which exists independently of the language used to describe it, evolves to become a "social fact" based on the meaning that a community imparts to it through its use of language. The "collective intentionality" behind this meaning gives the brute fact a new status, which imparts the new, symbolic meaning to the original fact. The process is encapsulated in the formula: [X counts as Y in C], where X is the brute fact, Y is the social fact, or the new symbolic value of X, and C is the cultural metaphor or culture of a given group. To understand the symbol, or the cultural marker, it must be understood that meaning is not derived from X, but rather from the status that collective intentionality imparts to the intrinsic value of X. In other words, merely scrutinizing and elucidating the features of X as a brute fact will not render the cultural meaning, as X's elements or features only function inasmuch as they are conventional representations of the function of Y (Searle 1-256). The difficulty with this concept lies in establishing what constitutes a "brute fact": can such a thing ever exist or does it become a social construct the moment language is used to describe it? (Butler *Bodies* 5). Assuming the latter to be the case, perhaps we can say that the construction of cultural markers involves an additional step: X counts as Y, which is then further acted upon by a *more particularized* collective intentionality to count as Z in C, Z being the cultural marker.

To give a more concrete example, momentarily engaging in a "willing suspension of disbelief" and considering the fictional woman in a tango lyric as if she were a real person, the idea that she is a woman is, from Searle's perspective (most assuredly not from Judith Butler's), a brute fact. Her status and label as a *bacana*, a

wealthy woman or a concubine (Conde *Diccionario* 53), is a social fact that only exists and has meaning because a given community has applied that categorization to social and cultural statuses; they do not exist independently of language and consequently of human institutions.

This leads back to the question of *how* X comes to be imparted with such cultural weight that it becomes a social fact, and here Butler's ideas of the repetitiveness of performativity in creating gender come into play ("Performative" 523, 526). Whereas Searle gives the final formula (X counts as Y in C), Butler would emphasize the process of arriving at that formula: the repetition of the performative gender acts gives them meaning as signifying a particular gender. From this viewpoint, gender itself is a cultural marker, so too is biological sex; there is no "brute fact" *per se*. Butler argues that biological "sex" is itself "a construction, offered within language, as that which is prior to language, prior to construction" therefore "sex" cannot be considered to be a brute fact but is already a social construct (*Bodies* 5). In the case of tango, the performative use of *lunfardo* cultural markers to create, describe or reinforce female and male stereotypes provides a type of linguistic scaffolding upon which the cultural construction of femininity and masculinity is erected in tango lyrics.

1.1.2 Sociolinguistics

Barring the occasional acknowledgement of tango's simultaneous development in neighboring Uruguay, tango is now generally seen as part of Argentinian national identity, and *lunfardo* is considered to be the consummate *porteño* idiom, one that is particularly associated with tango lyrics. As Conde states:

Over half of the lyrics produced in the 1920s and 1930s contain at least three or four lunfardisms and in some cases as many as ten. *Lunfardo* therefore became one of the most powerful vehicles in the consolidation and characterization of a tango poetics. ("Lunfardo in Tango" 47)

A sociolinguistic approach would therefore be the most applicable both in understanding how this linguistic phenomenon evolved, how it came to be embraced

by tango, and what its features can reveal about gender in the texts. Establishing both the linguistic context and non-linguistic or experiential context, particularly the “type of communicative event, topic, purpose of the event, setting, participants and the relationships between them, and the background knowledge and assumptions underlying the communicative event” (Nunan 8), provide the infrastructure which supports evidence of any gendered discourse prosodies that have been discovered.

Paul Baker (114) cautions that “identification of discourse prosodies is very subjective,” but Jane Sunderland (5) asserts that they may be identified “through analysis of traces in language use.” She later goes on to say:

People do not...recognize a discourse...in any straightforward way...Not only is it not identified or named, it is not self-evident or visible as a discrete chunk of a given text, it can never be 'there' in its entirety. What *is* there are certain linguistic features: 'marks on a page', words spoken or even people's memories of previous conversations...which—if sufficient and coherent—may suggest that they are 'traces' of a particular discourse. (28)

Therefore, an analysis of pragmatics, or language as it is actually used (Cummings 341), in selected cases, along with a corpus-based statistical analysis of collocational relationships with cultural markers will be the best methods for unveiling any patterns of discourse prosodies in the lyrics. Discourse strategies as exemplified by pragmatics and rhetoric used by tango lyricists—such as evidentiality, implicature, politeness, deixis, repetition, metaphor, and irony—will point the way to discovering any such patterns.

To illustrate briefly how this approach is applied in this study, in the tango “Dicen que dicen” by Alberto J. Ballesteros (Romano 199) the poetic voice is that of a man speaking to a young woman, allegedly narrating a story regarding another ill-fated couple. Half way through the first stanza he sets the stage for his tale:

*Dicen que dicen que era una mina
toda ternura, como eras vos,
que fue el orgullo de un mozo taura,
de fondo bueno...como era yo.*

They say that they say that she was a
sweet-hearted babe, like you were,
that she was the pride of a bold young man,
with a good heart...like I used to have.

The phrase “Dicen que dicen” is an example of evidentiality, implying the source of the information while simultaneously distancing the speaker from the story, allowing him to maintain his fictional anonymity. Additionally, he is demonstrating politeness in describing the female listener positively (*toda ternura*), however the past tense of the verb that follows implies the opposite—she is no longer “tender”—which is also how he perceives the traitorous female lover of his narrative, and the implied courtesy becomes a back-handed compliment at best, relegating the young girl to the class of immoral women likewise implied by use of the *lunfardo* term *mina*.⁷ Similarly, the *lunfardo* word *taura*, meaning “jugador arriesgado; valiente, osado, corajudo, jactancioso” (Conde *Diccionario* 199)⁸ is another example of reverse courtesy or impoliteness, however this time the potentially negative qualities (i.e. *corajudo*, *jactancioso*) implied by *taura* are meant to be complimentary, as a source of masculine pride supported by the fact that he has “a good background” (*fondo bueno*). This pragmatic approach is applied to the close reading of three different tango lyrics in chapters five and six.

While this example includes the use of cultural markers, it also makes clear that these are not the only linguistic elements in the lyrics that are used to create a gendered discourse. Therefore, although an exploration of cultural markers is one means of analyzing the texts, an examination of pragmatic and rhetorical elements demonstrates that even when cultural markers may not be present in the lyric, there are still “stories” about women and men and their relationships that may be extracted from tango lyrics, especially when taken from a data-driven approach.

⁷ Generally, *mina* signifies woman, however in some contexts, *mina* may connote a promiscuous woman or prostitute (Capello et al. 40-41).

⁸ *Taura* is often synonymous with *guapo*. See glossary.

That said, a key feature of this study also includes an evaluation of co-occurrence relations, or collocations, between high frequency and gender-based cultural markers in the texts. Collocation is “the tendency of certain words to co-occur regularly in a given language” (M. Baker 47). It is “a purely lexical relation, non-directional and probabilistic, which ignores any syntactic relation between the words” (Stubbs 64-65). As will be elaborated further on, by examining these collocational relationships via corpus-based methodologies I have another means of extracting evidence of gendered discourse prosodies. Stubbs defines discourse prosody as a co-occurrence relationship between words constituting “a feature which extends over more than one unit in a linear string.” In his example, “[...] CAUSE occurs overwhelmingly often with words for unpleasant events [...] whereas PROVIDE occurs with words denoting things which are desirable or necessary” (Stubbs 64-65). If the term *piba* occurs overwhelmingly often with words evoking innocence and goodness and *milonguita* with those reflecting immorality, then it could be safe to assume that the use of these terms has led to a particular discourse prosody, and one that has been used to portray a certain representation of gender.

Discourse prosodies “are a difficult aspect of extended lexical units to identify, because they often express speakers' relations to other people, and may depend on assumptions and world-view” (Stubbs 105). I have therefore endeavored to provide a solid historical/cultural context for evaluating the cultural markers in this study.

At this point the significance of such a unique linguistic variety as that of *lunfardo* bears mentioning, although an in-depth discussion of its origins, misidentification as an anti-language (Fowler 259-78; Halliday 570-84), and importance to the language of tango will be addressed in chapter three. As mentioned previously, *lunfardo* is the representative variety of Buenos Aires, having developed among the lower and immigrant classes between the period spanning the second half of the nineteenth century until the first World War, attributable primarily to the massive influx of immigrants during that time (D. Castro *Argentine Tango* 17-51; Conde *Lunfardo* 129-34; Gobello *Nuevo diccionario* 9). The appearance of *lunfardo* in tango

lyrics might be construed as a deliberate rhetorical strategy employed to convey certain semantic positions. In his paper, *Anti-language in Fiction*, Roger Fowler proposed two working hypotheses regarding this phenomenon, the second of which states, “Linguistic varieties in the sociolinguistic sense—styles, registers, dialects, codes, *even distinct languages in diglossia*—encode different semantic potentials” (262). In other words, an argot such as *lunfardo* is not used merely due to the environment, education, or social circumstances of the speaker, but also carries the potential to convey a meaning that cannot be expressed in a standard register or dialect. Whether a lyricist chose to write *percanta* versus *muchacha* or *grela* versus *mujer*, for example, would have depended on the nuanced meaning he (and occasionally she) wished to convey and the intended audiences. Again, Fowler reiterates:

One says different things in different varieties, for they have diverse semantic potentials. They mean differently—and the sources of these meanings are social differences, principally class divisions and social categorizations of the occasions of speaking. (263)

As a unique linguistic variety (Conde *Diccionario* 13) *lunfardo* gives tango its distinctive register, allowing it to speak for the men and women it represents.

1.1.3 Gender in Tango Lyrics

This thesis considers gender in tango lyrics in its historical and cultural context, assuming a historical perspective on the part of the authors of those lyrics that is based on a construction of gender that is heteronormative and binary, stemming from patriarchal tradition. That historical position represents an essentialist view in which sexual dimorphism is a biological fact that is acted upon by social meanings, which in turn provide the criteria for identifying gender as male or female (Wharton 10). While the theoretical positioning of this thesis is informed by contemporary theories that challenge those notions, I do nevertheless acknowledge and focus on the predominantly binary frameworks that predominate in tango lyrics. While it is

unquestionably possible to consider gender in tango lyrics from other theoretical perspectives, such as Queer Theory, this falls outside the purview of this study and may be considered as substance for future research. Therefore, in the following section I will begin by first considering definitions of gender and then progress to the mechanisms by which gender is constructed and how those mechanisms might apply to tango lyrics.

A biologically determined, essentialist view divides gender into two fixed categories: male and female, a binary opposition that is evidenced by biological traits (Jackson and Jones 131-34). While West and Zimmerman challenge this by expressing that gender is “the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category” (127), nevertheless they link gender intrinsically to biological sex: “gender activities emerge from and bolster claims to membership in a sex category” (127), emphasizing that how individuals “do gender,” appropriately or inappropriately, serves to reinforce, reproduce and “legitimize institutional arrangements that are based on sex category” (146). The consequences of failing to comply with these institutional gender arrangements have ramifications for considering gender practice as it is presented in tango lyrics and will be addressed presently. Connell, on the other hand, goes further and asserts that “gender is social practice that constantly refers to bodies and what bodies do, it is not social practice reduced to the body” (71). Masculinity and femininity are, therefore, constructed by the processes of configuring gender practice through time (72) rather than being merely expressions of “maleness” or “femaleness” manifested by the “naturalness” of biological sex. In that gender practice, historically and contemporarily, the power structure is generally dominated by men, resulting in the subordination of women under a patriarchal system, represented by a given hegemonic masculinity (74). In tango lyrics, for example, one form of that masculinity may be said to be represented by the *rufián* [pimp] (Gobello *Nuevo diccionario* 66) who controls a prostitute through financial and physical domination, a not uncommon theme in the earliest lyrics, as will be seen.

If it is clear, then, that gender is a social construct independent of the bodies upon which it is “accomplished” (West and Zimmerman 126), Judith Butler’s theories of performativity (“Performative” 519-31) can help to explain how recurring representations of men and women by means of *lunfardo* may contribute to the construction of gender in tango lyrics. According to Butler, gender is constructed via repetitive performance of acts that identify one’s gender. While Butler is referring to the broader concept of gender identity as a whole, it stands to reason that the manner in which society constructs femininity and masculinity drives how that femininity or masculinity will be lived out through certain roles, which are dictated by the ideals of a given historical and social context, and which thereafter may be depicted in cultural artifacts, such as tango lyrics. I do not mean to suggest that the use and repetition of a specific language variety, such as the *lunfardo* presented in this study, acts in a formative manner to construct gender as if it never before existed in tango; the gender of the protagonists of tango has already been identified and sedimented in the broader social context. Rather I suggest that the impact of *lunfardo* in the lyrics contributes to and nuances “the legacy of sedimented acts” (Butler “Performative” 523) that constructs the gendered representations of men and women in tango songs.

Additionally, the specialized language found in tango lyrics, including either cultural markers specific to River Plate Spanish or those deriving from the use of *lunfardo*, comprises its own performativity. By using this language, the lyricist creates the *personaje*, or character: the gender, the culture, and the behavioral expectations; therefore it is my contention that the inclusion of *lunfardo* cultural markers serves to construct and fortify gender identities within the text more so than their standard Spanish counterparts might. In part, this may be accomplished by means of linguistic performative utterances. According to J.L. Austin, uttering or stating that one is doing something “is to do it” (Austin 6), or in other words, “the speech is the action or part of the action itself” (Greer); the classic examples include the affirmation of vows (“I do” or “I will”) and the statement “I now pronounce you husband and wife” uttered in marriage ceremonies (Austin 5-6). However, it is not merely the utterance that

constitutes the performance: specific, societally accepted norms and circumstances must be appropriate for the performance to occur (Austin 8). Jackson and Jones paraphrase Butler's interpretation of how this linguistic performativity translates to gender: "the process works because the phrase 'it's a girl' draws on the authority of the conventions which establish what a girl is. In naming sex, the norms of sex are being cited" (137). By the same token, in tango lyrics this performative process works because the phrase "*sos un malevo*" [you're a thug] draws on the authority of the conventions in tango which establish what a *malevo* is. In naming the stereotype in *lunfardo* terms, the norms of *tango* and Buenos Aires culture are being cited. In tango, for example, performative utterances such as "*sos toda una bacana*" [you're quite the fancy lady] from "Mano a mano" and "*sos el malevo...sos el más taura...sos el mismo 'Ventarrón'*" [You're a bad 'un...you're the ballsiest...you're a gale-force wind] from "Ventarrón" (Romano 234) bring those gender representations into being because they occur within the cultural milieu of tango and conform to societal expectations of who those individuals should be.

Performative utterances in isolation presumably would not sufficiently explain how gender is concretized in tango lyrics and converted into an apparently innate representation of femininity and masculinity. According to Butler, repetition is key to performativity, through a continuous recycling of acts that are consolidated through time ("Performative" 523). Similarly, if the motif of the *milonguita* is repeated often enough, then that is who the woman in the lyrics becomes—the woman of tango is inextricably linked to these stereotypes: *milonguita*, *piba*, *santa madre*, and so on. Butler goes on to quote anthropologist Victor Turner stating, "This repetition is at once a reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established; it is the mundane and ritualized form of their legitimation" (Turner, qtd. in Butler "Performative" 526). If this is true, the *piba's* departure from home and conversion to *milonguita*—a common motif in tango lyrics depicting a woman's efforts at social climbing—is a set of meanings already established. The fact that lyrics tell us about it so repetitively may be a hint that the "mundane and ritualized form of [...]"

legitimation” of these actions is derived from, or at least reflects, a lived reality in the non-fictional tango world. Likewise, when a *pituco* [poseur] or a *shusheta* [dandy] is ridiculed because of his over-preoccupation with dress and appearance, this too falls within the scope of the “deeply entrenched or sedimented expectations” (“Performative” 524) of gendered existence. The *taita* [killer] is rooted in the already ritualized expectation of male aggressive behavior as a sign of masculinity (Archetti *Masculinities* 142); similarly, the *piba* is feminine because she conforms to the expected behavior of innocence, passivity, or weakness in females (Dalbosco “Prestame” 185; Storni “El varón” 991), including the expectation that she must be taken care of. Once she practices non-conformity of behavior, she becomes the *milonguita*, in many cases a degenerate and reviled figure, as in the song “Moneda de cobre.”⁹

Another central aspect of Butler’s theory is the comparison of gender performativity to theatrical performance: “Just as a script may be enacted in various ways, and just as the play requires both text and interpretation, so the gendered body acts its part in a culturally restricted corporeal space and enacts interpretations within the confines of already existing directives” (“Performative Acts” 526). Tangos are performances on many levels: literally and directly, as sung by vocalists performing for listeners; indirectly as compositions by lyricists performing poetry; figuratively as a representation of gender performance through the acts and descriptions of its fictitious characters; and lastly theatrically and physically, as tango dance is performed either on stage for an audience or in the intimate environs of the *milonga* (i.e. social dance venue) for the sole pleasure of the dancing partners. The words used to describe women and men are repeated, the motifs are repeated, the roles are repeated, and these contribute to the creation, and perhaps more so to the calcification, of the feminine and masculine stereotypes in the lyrics. However, this still does not preclude a certain agency, fictitious or otherwise: Butler emphasizes that

⁹ The tango “Moneda de cobre” is a severe, racist condemnation of a “fallen” Afro-descendant woman (Gobello *Letras* 238).

gender is “what is put on,” willingly or not, in a futile attempt to realize a gender ideal (“Performative” 531). However “gender is always constituted in failure, and in that failure we have the possibility of doing something other than gender in its most normative instance” (Greer). The failure of the *milonguita* or the *compadrito* to perform gender correctly opens them up to the possibility of change, manifested in “subversive performances of various kinds” (“Performative” 531).

These subversive performances may be said to be ways of “undoing gender” (Deutsch 120), ways in which men and women act to counter the constraints of normative gender practice. When the tango woman engages in ritualized “male” pursuits, such as striving for material acquisition or individual autonomy, thereby undermining stereotypical perceptions of her prescribed role in society, she “undermine[s] the stereotypical perceptions that buoy up an ideology of inequality” (Deutsch 113). According to Deutsch, “‘doing gender’ evokes conformity; ‘undoing gender’ evokes resistance” (122), but also the idea of “doing gender” “renders resistance invisible” (123). While there are obvious ways in which women and men “do gender” in tango lyrics, as will be discussed in the section on tango masculinity and femininity, the implications here are that in this conflict between conformity or resistance, any resistance might prove indiscernible if only ways of “doing” are examined and the “undoing” is ignored. The methodology of this research is therefore extremely valuable in that it facilitates the revelation of ways in which gender is undone or challenged in the lyrics, manifested by discourse prosodies that might otherwise be overlooked.

Deutsch proposes a distinction between the two phrases, “doing gender” and “undoing gender”: the former refers to social reproductions of gender difference; the latter designating social interactions that reduce gender difference (122). A question to consider with regard to tango lyrics is: if the male or female character is depicted in a way that might be viewed as “undoing gender,” were the presentations of their social interactions intentional and do those representations actually reduce gender difference? Perhaps not: the tough *guapo* [*barrio* boss] may be “feminized” (e.g.

portrayed as crying over a lost love), however this was seen as male weakness (Gasparri 203), as will be discussed presently. Similarly, the *milonguita* may have gained economically; nevertheless she is still dependent on her *bacán*, a wealthy man. There is no claim here that an “intention” to effect social change exists in the lyrics, nevertheless at the “interactional level of gender” (Deutsch 147), i.e. the ways in which men and women interacted in tango lyrics, there may be seen a reflection of the tension being placed on these “normative” positions by changes occurring in larger society. Deutsch suggests that as gender positions are challenged by changes in a society and its norms, gender differences may be recreated and accentuated due to pushback against those changes (Deutsch 115). Thus, the typically harsh portrayal of non-conforming women and men in tango lyrics may reflect a backlash against newfound freedoms, particularly of women, as Buenos Aires and Montevideo society changed rapidly around the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁰

Both in the real world and the fictional world of tango texts, dancing tango was one type of subversive performance for women; leaving the sanctity of home and *barrio* to run off with a *bacán* would have been another. Transforming oneself from a relatively innocent, idealized *piba* to a savvy, ambitious *milonguita* would have been a conscious act, deliberately “put on” and leading to gender performances that would have been seen as deviant at the least. The codes of the *milonga* dictated a certain way of behaving and a certain language that defined dancers’ roles and ways of interacting. If the national “script” for the Argentinian woman involved adherence to bourgeois directives regardless of her social class, confining her to the roles of wife, mother, and homemaker, then the tango woman –the character of the *milonguita* specifically– certainly deviated from that script. That there were real women who chose this deviant performance cannot be doubted, as evidenced in Andrés Carretero’s exhaustive research on Argentinian daily life as well as his meticulous analysis of female professions of the day, legal or otherwise;¹¹ how that performance

¹⁰ These historical implications will be examined in greater detail in chapter two.

¹¹ See Carretero’s three-part series *Vida cotidiana en Buenos Aires* and also *Prostitución en Buenos Aires*.

was appropriated and scripted in tango lyrics to further reiterate and mythologize those gender performances is one purview of this study.

Pertaining to the consequences of this deviant behavior, Butler also discusses the punitive nature of gender performativity, pointing out that “gender performances in non-theatrical contexts are governed by more clearly punitive and regulatory social conventions” and “performing one’s gender wrong initiates a set of punishments both obvious and indirect, and performing it well provides the reassurance that there is an essentialism of gender identity after all” (“Performative Acts” 528). Although the *milonguita* is “performing wrong,” she in fact falls into the “sedimented expectations” of her gender, in spite of apparently breaking free by going off with her *bacán* to seek a better life: as described by tango lyrics her life thereafter is debauched, lascivious, depraved, and this is generally viewed as a fitting end, or punishment, for her audacity in challenging society’s script and failing to perform normative gender. The metaphor of tuberculosis as judgment, the idea that “she had it coming” (Armus 187-207), her physical and social degradation, or being left “*sola, fané, descangayada*” [alone, withered, broken down]¹² —all of these are the sets of punishments, even including the longing for the innocent life of youth (as in the lyric, “Percal” (Romano 329)). The realization on the part of the *milonguita* and the *compadrito* or *muchacho* that innocence lost is irretrievable, that one can’t turn back time, renders all those decisions made in youth, those that led to giving over to the tango life, the incorrect acts of performing one’s expected gender role. Likewise, the praise and reverence for the sainted mother and the loyal girlfriend (see *minas fieles* in “Tiempos viejos” (Romano 102)) are the reassurance that all is right with one’s gender performance, and the praise of virtue is the reward for conformity. To act contrary to gender expectations is to invite danger, as “there are no theatrical conventions to delimit the purely imaginary character of the act, indeed, on the street or in the bus, there is no presumption that the act is distinct from reality” (Butler “Performative” 527).

¹² From line 1 of “Esta noche me emborracho” (Romano 147-48).

On the other hand, given that tango songs are indeed theatrical by nature—performed and listened to—the danger should be less, the punishment less severe. That tango has suffered from a negative reputation over the years may speak to tango’s strong ties to real-world situations, fears, and consequences. The danger here for the researcher is falling into the trap of confusing the people and events described in tango lyrics as representing an absolute reality. Although initially stating the metaphorical nature of their analyses, several researchers seem prone to do just this, blurring the lines between discussing a literary motif and endowing that motif with tangible existence. Except to the extent that it can be shown that particular tango characters, (e.g. “Gricel” (Gobello *Letras* 236-37; Romano 310-11) and “Malena” (Gobello *Letras* 238-9; Romano 309-10)), specific stereotypes (e.g. the *niño bien* (Dalbosco “Prestame” 182; Lamas and Binda 41; Romano 110-11; Ulla 19)) or the real “Esclavas Blancas” (Guy 153; Pettorossi) have historical basis, it would be too facile or improbable to assume that the linguistic pictures painted by the lyrics may be equated with tangible proof of their existence. Instead, the historical background of tango I will present in this study and the subsequent analysis of the tango lyrics reveal how the linguistic construction and portrayal of gender may portray the relative positions of masculinity and femininity in the milieu of tango and its songs.

Masculinity and Femininity in Tango Lyrics

During the period and in the region in question, the late nineteenth to the first half of the twentieth century in the River Plate zone, masculinity and femininity were delineated in terms of the binary, heteronormative views of gender of the time, as upheld by a decidedly patriarchal system. That is not to say that there was (or is) one fixed, genuine model of masculinity or femininity in that cultural milieu (Connell 40). Just as Parker states that “The construction of femininity refers to the psychoanalytic and social account of sexual differentiation” (4), Connell asserts that “[masculinity] is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture” (71). Therefore, in the case of tango lyrics (the

place of gender relations), I equate this to the use of a particular lexicon (the practices of gender) to describe and depict femaleness and maleness; this research examines the process by which men and women are portrayed as having gendered lives, i.e. what it means to be a man or woman in relation to tango lyrics.

Among the upper classes in particular, the *paterfamilias* was not only a representative of hegemonic masculinity in the domestic sphere, but as the head of a powerful family a man might command influence in matters of state, forming “alliances between family and national interests” (Masiello 18). In all echelons of Southern Cone society during this time, fathers held authority over their daughters (*patria potestad*) and passed that authority to women’s husbands upon marriage (Lavrin 55). In identifying a mythologized masculinity, poet and writer Alfonsina Storni describes the “ideal de varón” as “el brazo fuerte que envolvía a la familia para protegerla; ese brazo era descanso, confianza, sombra, nido, tibieza” (“El varón” 990), while the woman “debía perder su personalidad para que la de él luciera y brillara” (“El varón” 991). In the fictional world of tango lyrics, these gender positions intertwine and the tension between them is exacerbated by complex social interactions (Archetti *Masculinities* 150; Savigliano *Tango* 38, 68), or as Dulce Dalbosco asserts:

El paradigma de lo masculino patriarcal, asociado en términos generales con los atributos de reciedumbre, temple y active productividad proveedora, por oposición a lo femenino identificado con delicadeza, fragilidad, sentimentalismo y recepción pasivo, es puesto en jaque en la poética del tango. (“Prestame” 182)

Womanhood was conflated with the biological and social functions of motherhood (Lavrin 34), and the essence of being feminine was defined by society as being a woman who was “charming, genteel, delicate, and selfless” (Lavrin 33). Nevertheless, women were not always seen as such. From an earlier male perspective, an 1879 article in *Folleto de La Nación* by Benigno B. Lugones itemizes “acceptable” female traits via a misogynistic tirade criticizing their alleged lack in *porteño* women:

[...] no saben economía doméstica; no tienen el hábito de ahorrar; *no saben comprar* (aun cuando parece lo contrario) porque creen que en comprar *barato* consiste el comprar *bien*; no saben cocinar, zurcir, remendar, etc., etc. [...]: ¿la mujer [...] ha sabido alguna vez y sabe hoy otra cosa que ir a la iglesia, pasear, bailar, tocar el piano, cantar, pertenecer a sociedades de caridad y amamantar los chiquillos con biberón? (“Una faz” col. 3)

Women were either limited or directly prohibited from working outside of the home, and contemporary publications illustrated how these societal norms, including religious views, forced women to marry for financial security (Lavrin 129). Even as women moved out into the workforce, they were still expected to fulfill traditional “feminine” roles, their gainful employment purposed to meet the needs of the family (Carretero *Vida* 2 249). Thus, women represented by the most frequently used *lunfardo* terms found in this study, such as *milonga* (and its variations), *mina*, and *pebeta* [girl], would have been considered to be vulgar and selfish, or “unfeminine,” as their behavior did not conform with societal expectations for their gender: they neither embraced the role of motherhood nor eschewed the “un-genteel” behavior that constituted dancing tango, and they acted in other ways designed to promote their own self-interest. Femininity as a “lived identity for women either embraced or resisted” (Parker 4) is portrayed in descriptions in tango of how women such as the *piba* or the *milonguita* acted. Thus the feminine stereotypes, “a collection of attributes which is imputed to women and against which their every concern is measured” (Parker 4) can be either positive or negative in tango, such as in the contradictory portrayals of the ‘*minas fieles de gran corazón*’ and ‘*la rubia Mireya...pobre mendiga harapienta*’ found in the same lyric, “Tiempos viejos” (Romano 1-2).

Borges proposes a few gendered characters found in tango, focusing primarily on the masculine: “Tenemos, pues, a los personajes: tenemos al compadrito, al rufián, tenemos al niño bien, patotero [gang member], y tenemos a la mujer de mala vida, también” (*El tango* 41). Beginning with the women, I will now examine common female and male types specific to tango lyrics; these types are precisely those that are being interrogated by this research. Two of the earliest tangos, “La Morocha” (Gobello

Letras 20-22; Romano 24-25) and “Yo soy la rubia” (D’Herbil “Yo”; Sibilin),¹³ present a femininity that adheres more closely to the institutionalized ideal than the later *milonguita*, or Borges’ “mujer de mala vida.” Although neither directly promotes matrimony or motherhood, the two women’s first-person narratives present ideal models of femininity upheld with pride, passion, and industry. *La Morocha* is a simple, rural *criolla* [creole], and brunette (the essential definition of *morocha*); *la rubia* is urban, sophisticated, middle-class, and blond. While *La Morocha* is faithful to her *gaucho* [cowboy], *la rubia* does not indicate an attachment to any particular man (perhaps a reflection of the author’s social class and the changing roles for women). Nevertheless, both women boast of their skill at preparing a *cimarrón* or *mate amargo*,¹⁴ a “bitter” *mate* prepared without sugar signifying “indifference” in the “language of *mate*” (Rivadeneira 63; Villanueva 280), implying that they are strong, independently-minded women who may conform to expected gender roles but do not perceive themselves as entirely dependent upon males. This feminine strength underlies presentations of women throughout tango lyrics, regardless of their position as innocent *pibas* or tainted *milonguitas*, as will be shown in the results from this research.

From the first *tango canción*,¹⁵ and throughout the 1920s, the principal female figure in tango is represented by *la milonguita*, who may be seen as the archetype of the “fallen woman,” a leitmotif that Dalbosco associates with that of Marguerite Gautier of the Alexandre Dumas *fils* novel *La Dame aux Camélias* (“La construcción” 32-33, 186). Indeed, Bohemian figures such as Marguerite Gautier, Mimí Pinsón, or Manon Lescaut appear throughout tango lyrics, e.g. “Griseta” (Gobello *Letras* 76;

¹³ “La Morocha” was a tango written in 1905 by Ángel Villoldo, music by Enrique Saborido, and allegedly composed for and based on a Uruguayan dancer and singer named Lola Candales (del Priore Loc. 571). The complete title to the second tango was “Yo soy la rubia – Tanguito criollo. Retruque de La Morocha” written and composed by Eloísa D’Herbil de Silva y Barboza c. 1905 (del Priore Loc. 635).

¹⁴ *Mate* is an infused, hot beverage. *La rubia* adds that she can also prepare a *café sin azúcar*, which has the same significance for the urban male as the *mate amargo* for the *gaucho* (Rivadeneira 63), thereby reinforcing her implicit claim to being the “ideal” Argentinian woman.

¹⁵ The term *tango canción* differentiates a new tango song form, characterized by a clearly narrative lyric, from that of both instrumental tango dance music and strictly descriptive lyrics, such as those composed by Villoldo (del Priore Loc. 1308).

Romano 65-66) and the eponymous “Margarita Gauthier” [sic] (Gobello *Letras* 212-13; Romano 266-67). This will be discussed in detail in chapter three. Eventually the *noviecita del barrio*, represented lexically by such terms as *piba*, *percanta*, or *papusa* [beautiful woman], or the *madre*, named as *madre*, *mujer*, *vieja*, or *viejecita*, appear in the lyrics, but Dalbosco insists that these serve more as symbolic counterparts to the *milonguita* than fully formed characters and are never found far from the *milonguita* (“La construcción” 186). By extension, however, given that in most cases the *piba* (or *percanta*) metamorphoses into the *milonguita*, she, too, shares the *milonguita*’s innate characteristics, regardless of whether she is the *barrio* innocent or the cabaret *femme fatale*. She is a non-conformist in terms of societal expectations, forced by circumstances to attempt to carve her way in the world under men’s terms, a characterization supported by the results of the data analysis from this research, as will be demonstrated in subsequent chapters. *La madre (la viejita)* is the constant, the epitome of normative womanhood as described previously.

In 1920 Samuel Linnig authored “Milonguita (Esthercita)” set to music by Enrique Delfino, which is considered to be the “official baptism” of the cabaret/tango woman as “Milonguita.” In Archetti’s assessment, the *milonguita* is “young, unmarried, from a middle-lower-class family and born in a *barrio*. She is sensual, very sensual, egoistic and self-assured, with a self-confidence that emanates from her beauty and elegance” (*Masculinities* 146); nevertheless, in spite of her assertiveness, she may be described as “weak, unable to resist temptation” although “not by nature treacherous” (155). Salas is more succinct in his description, stating that *milongueras* were “buenas bailarinas, frívolas, y generalmente prostitutas” (142), and justifies the latter description explaining that a *milonguera* was a taxi dancer and that the diminutive, *milonguita*, therefore denoted a prostitute associated with the cabarets (143). For Dalbosco, there is an unmistakable process by which the *piba* transforms into *milonguita*, including the spatial migration from *barrio/conventillo* to *centro/cabaret* (“La construcción” 35) alongside alterations to her identity. Upon becoming *milonguita*, the young woman discards her dresses of *percal* [percale] for

those of *seda*, and her long *trenzas* are bobbed into the short, “flapper” hairstyle and usually dyed blond (“La construcción” 40-42). Carretero cites an example from 1887 that shows that the vast majority of women brought over from Europe to work as prostitutes at that time were Slavic and blond (*Prostitución* 45),¹⁶ and later the overwhelming influence of film imported from the United States in the 1920s and 1930s (Varela 120-27), particularly through Hollywood’s depiction of sensuous and licentious blonds, served to reinforce the notion that the blond *milonguita* was, indeed, a “fallen woman.” The final element in the construction of the feminine stereotype in tango stems from Argentina’s unremitting gaze toward Paris, and either the French origins of many prostitutes, *milongueras*, or *milonguitas*, or the “frenchification” of the young women of the *arrabal* [suburban neighborhood] through name changes (e.g. Margarita to Margot) or the adoption of “French” ways of speaking and behaving upon entering the world of the cabaret: *tomar champagne, cenar a la française, hablar en francés, seguir la moda francesa*, etc.¹⁷ All of the above stereotypes are the culmination of most research on femininity in tango, and while this research supports these interpretations, additionally it challenges the notion that the women in tango lyrics can only conform to these static roles.

As had been said previously, a system of gender relations gives rise to concepts of masculinity and femininity; the one cannot exist without the other and their respective definitions are variable and interconnected (Connell 68, 71). In the case of gender relations in tango, femininity is defined principally through the male gaze, chiefly due as much to the fact that the male poetic voice predominates in the narratives as to the preponderance of male authors in the lyrics (Dalbosco “Prestame” 180). Dalbosco has observed that when the poetic voice of tango is female (a rare occurrence), although it generally conforms to the social models of the time that

¹⁶ Argentina’s historical legalized prostitution and *trata de blancas* will be addressed in further detail in chapter two.

¹⁷ For discussions of these aspects of tango and the Paris gaze see: B. Lugones “Una faz” Col. 6; Carretero *Vida* 2 225; Dalbosco “La construcción” 35, 43; Guy 14, 16; Salas 142, 145; Savigliano *Tango* 68; and Ulla 25.

describe relationships between the sexes in misogynistic terms, nevertheless it engages in “otro tipo de construcción de lo femenino,” in which the woman is not presented as passive by any means (“Prestame” 185). She goes on to assert that when the poetic voice is male and the lyrics are critical of women’s “actitud demasiado independiente y desafiante en relación con los sistemas falocráticos vigentes,” they simultaneously construct a rendition of strong, autonomous, and confident femininity (“Prestame” 185-86). Therefore, while the presentation of femininity in tango lyrics generally adheres to societal norms that defined acceptable and deviant behavior in women from a patriarchal perspective, the use of the specific terms used to indicate women, particularly *lunfardo*, support a femininity that includes assertiveness and agency in opposition to hegemonic masculinity, as the methodology of this research so precisely reveals.

In spite of the fact that femininity in tango is constructed from this male viewpoint, masculinity in tango did not emerge in isolation: it is intrinsically related to the way tango males “perceived, defined, and imagined an idealized femininity” (Archetti *Masculinities* 137). Women are defined in tango principally through the male gaze, yet that gaze is reflected back on men in their interpretations of and responses to female behavior. That behavior may be “judged to be morally good, bad or indifferent according to the happiness or misery of those involved” (*Masculinities* 149). Thus, in the lyrics, for as long as a woman reciprocates a given male protagonist’s love she is considered to be “good”, or “feminine,” but once she disassociates from that particular man, regardless of whether her love is reasonably or irrationally transferred to another, she becomes “bad”, or “unfeminine.”

The man who is thus rejected is viewed as having been dishonored, as “male honor is dependent upon the woman’s sexual behavior” (*Masculinities* 154). Therefore, Archetti asserts that there are a variety of men in tango texts who embody a variety of masculinities as determined primarily by their interactions with women:

On the one hand, in the world of romantic love and personal dignity we find a man who narrates love stories, and, on the other, in the epos of honour or shame we find one that tells tales of vengeance and death. (*Masculinities* 156)

Thus we see that the “macho” *guapo* can exist alongside the weepy *compadrito* and both are still masculine, as “the relationships constructing masculinity are dialectical; they do not correspond to the one-way causation of a socialization model” (Connell 37). Nevertheless, Archetti describes typical tango men as middle-aged, single, from the lower-middle or middle class, who are originally from the *barrio* but now live in the *centro* (*Masculinities* 150). They are passionate, in that they love “with such intensity that the risk of not being requited is correspondingly overwhelming” (*Masculinities* 145), sincere in that they have “authentic feelings and deep relationships,” and are “truly loving” (*Masculinities* 148). As with the female stereotypes outlined above, this research not only corroborates established portrayals of masculinity, but also adds another dimension by differentiating the ways in which female and male figures manifest gendered discourse.

In more precise terms, two principal male motifs are the *guapo* and the *compadrito*, related but distinct stereotypes. The figure of the *guapo* is seen as the original masculine model in tango lyrics (Gasparri 180), proponent of the “culto de coraje” (Borges *Obras* 165), defined by Borges as “la dura y ciega religión del coraje, de estar listo a matar y a morir” (*Obras* 167). This depiction of the *guapo* was made popular through fictionalization of the life of famed *gaucho* folk hero, Juan Moreira, in Eduardo Guitiérrez’s 1880 eponymous novel and later theatrical works, commencing with a play by José Podestá in 1886 (Borges *Obras* 165; D. Castro *Argentine Tango* 44; Slatta 176). Representations of the *guapo* epitomize this aspect of tango masculinity, defining it in terms of violence and toughness in contrast to larger society’s concept of masculinity as represented by the *paterfamilias*. *Guapo* and *compadre* are synonymous, both defined as an “hombre pendenciero y perdonavidas” (Conde *Diccionario* 177) and “valentón, resistente para el trabajo” (Gobello *Nuevo diccionario* 134); they are the “arquetipo del arrabal porteño: el primero en la escala de coraje”

(Salas 68). A real-life *guapo/compadre* was a “peleador desinteresado,” often a bodyguard, working for a local *caudillo* (Borges *El tango* 60). According to Salas, the *guapo* tended to be solitary, opting for bachelorhood and even celibacy, both as freedom from dependent wives and children and as a superstition guaranteeing virility and prowess in street combat (Salas 66-67). However, the “technique” of the actual *guapo/compadre* did not merely consist of “el buen manejo del cuchillo y del poncho” (Borges *El tango* 54) but also in psychological domination over his adversary—the rival was defeated before the fight had begun.¹⁸

By the time the *guapo* began to appear in tango lyrics, however, he was already a quasi-mythological figure whose presence was looked on from a nostalgic perspective. The *guapo/compadre* as protagonist, appearing predominantly in early tango lyrics, gave way with the advent of the *tango canción* to the lesser, often ridiculed, *compadrito*, who perhaps played a greater role in configuring masculinity in tango. According to Borges, “el que influye directamente en el tango no es el guapo, es más bien el hombre que vive de las mujeres y que, naturalmente, trataba de imitar al guapo, y, a veces, lo era también” (*El tango* 62). In Ángel Villoldo’s¹⁹ signature style, that is, beginning a lyric in first person with “Yo soy...” or “Soy...” (Rivadeneira 34), lyrics such as “El Porteño” (Gobello *Letras* 19-20; Romano 22-23), “Soy Tremendo” (Gobello *Letras* 27), “Calandria” (Rivadeneira 44; Villoldo “Calandria”), “El criollo más criollo” (Rivadeneira 47; Villoldo “El criollo”), and “El torito” (Gobello *Letras* 26-27) present the *compadrito*’s chief characteristics.

¹⁸ Borges describes in detail his eyewitness account of an encounter between *guapo* Nicolás Paredes, then seventy years old, and a younger man, in which Paredes subtly intimidates his rival not so much by what he says or does but by the way he manipulates the other into a position of weakness without verbal or physical aggression (*El tango* 55-57).

¹⁹ Ángel Gregorio Ghigiola Roggio was born on 16 February 1861 in Buenos Aires and died 14 October 1919. A prolific composer of tango music and lyrics, he has been called “el padre del tango” (Rivadeneira 17). Additionally, he held numerous and varied occupations in his lifetime: *cuarteador*, herdsman, trolley car driver, circus clown, theatrical artist, writer, typographer, composer, *payador*, musician, and guitar teacher (Elías 78; Soler Cañas 21), all of which are germane to the discussion of the links between early and modern tango in chapters two and three. Finally, Villoldo was one of the first musicians to see the value of and take advantage of recording technology, thereby contributing to the profusion of his work (Elías 79).

In a Villoldian-style lyric, the *compadrito* declares himself to be an “hijo de Buenos Aires” (Gasparri 189), and is, in fact, an *orillero* hailing from the outskirts of the city and who ultimately migrates to the cabarets of the city center (Archetti *Masculinities* 152-4; del Priore Loc. 478). A multi-faceted character, on the one hand a *compadrito* is a *rufián*, a domineering pimp who expects obedience and submission from women (Archetti *Masculinities* 154) as well as a womanizer, “an elegant seducer whom no woman can resist” (*Masculinities* 152). On the other, he is a “trabajador honesto en varios oficios: carrero, matarife, carnicero” (Rivadeneira 33), admired for his courage, physical strength, and capacity to cheat as needed (Archetti *Masculinities* 153). Regarding personality, he is usually described as a *pendenciero*, intolerant, defiant, and hostile towards other men, as well as being arrogant and boastful, unequaled in any endeavor, including fighting, loving, and dancing tango (Archetti *Masculinities* 153; del Priore Loc. 478; Gasparri 189). In tango lyrics particularly, he is represented as an extraordinary dancer (Archetti *Masculinities* 152; del Priore Loc. 478; Gasparri 189; Rivadeneira 33); in one testimonial from the period, in *Memorias de un vigilante*, journalist José Sixto Álvarez verifies this dance prowess, stating that a *compadrito* he knew of “se quebraba²⁰ hasta barrer el suelo con la oreja” (Álvarez 24). In spite of ostensible appreciation for this character’s more admirable traits, the term *compadrito* was not only “una calificación peyorativa y denigrante” (Salas 72) but additionally a caricature of a man, “sencillamente alegre, decididor y vanidoso, pero despojado de tintes demasiado cargados” (73), and was portrayed with comic effect in many lyrics.

The many manifestations of the *compadrito* in tango lyrics laid the foundation for portrayals of the evolution of masculinity, and, consequently, femininity, in the songs over time. The *guapo* gives way to the *compadrito* who in turn becomes the rejected, sorrowful lover, the “nuevo estereotipo masculino del hombre sensible y

²⁰ A *quebrada* (verb: *quebrarse*) was a dance move in early tango, a type of *corte*, in which the male led the woman to bend at the waist. Benzecry Sabá states: “in the old style *quebradas*, the bodies would be almost parallel to the floor” A *corte* was any pause or break in the flow of the dance, a move that was considered lascivious during the period in question (Benzecry Sabá *Quest* 23-24).

enamoradizo" (Gasparri 195) of the *tango canción*, epitomized by the "amurado" [abandoned] lover in "Mi noche triste."²¹ This emotional expression of masculinity is "legitimized" (196) in representations of the lovelorn male as honest, hard-working, and decent, even when he avenges romantic betrayal with violence, including murder, despite being aware that this "code of honor" contradicts the norms of modern society (Archetti *Masculinities* 154).²² While the man appears to maintain the patriarchal power structure in these scenarios and the woman is condemned as the perpetrator of male anguish, in reality the romantic tension between the male and female characters evidences power being pulled in both directions (Gasparri 196). *Pibas* evolve into *milonguitas*, whose principal offence has been to push back against hegemonic masculinity, notwithstanding their ostensible mental and physical weakness and subordinate position in the power hierarchy; tango women are perceived as being "docile bodies in rebellion" (Savigliano *Tango* 69-71). Women are often objectified in tango lyrics, but in their ability to move, to leave, "they were passionate objects not passive ones" (Savigliano "Whiny Ruffians" 103). Where a woman in a tango can be shown to be assertive and autonomous, that *milonguita's* agency and independence challenges hegemonic masculinity, since she thereby embodies the controlling force in heterosexual, amorous tango relationships.

Once again, these alterations in the dynamics of social gender relations and their parallel manifestations in evolving tango masculinities and femininities are not linear or causal but interconnected. The change in male/female social relations comes, according to Storni, when the woman begins to doubt the value of the *varón* as an orientating value, a creative force, at which point she begins to dispute and to lose respect for him, in spite of the fact that she still loves him passionately, albeit without

²¹ "Mi noche triste" is considered to be the first *tango canción* and marks a significant change in the style of tango lyrics. It was written in 1915, per Gobello (*Letras* 40-41), however the date is often given as 1917, as this was the year of its first recording. Pascual Contursi set his lyrics to the music of Samuel Castriota's tango "Lita." The lyricist himself premiered this tango in the "Moulin Rouge" cabaret in Montevideo in 1915. It was famously sung by Carlos Gardel at the Teatro Esmeralda and later recorded by him under the Odeón label, both in 1917 (Gobello *Letras* 40-41; Pinsón "Mi noche"; Romano 31).

²² See "confessional" lyrics such as "A la luz del candil" (Romano 117-19), "Noche de reyes" (Curi), and "Sentencia" (Romano 54-55).

faith, while the man bewilderingly laments her apparent indifference (“El varón” 992). Hence the tension between the two genders in tango lyrics: men perpetually lament the demise of their version of masculinity and its corresponding femininity, of “los muchachos de antes que no usaban gomina” and the “minas fieles de gran corazón,” (“Tiempos viejos” (Gobello *Letras* 121; Romano 102-03), lines 4 and 14, respectively) while believing that all modern women are unfaithful and “es condición del varón el sufrir” (“Sentimiento *gaucho*” (Gobello *Letras* 82; Romano 75-76), line 9). Women relentlessly seek by any means the autonomy denied them by those patriarchal models and seek to redefine femininity in their own terms, giving themselves permission to live and accepting the consequences. For this new femininity, the past in tango lyrics belongs to “cosas del percal” (“Percale” (Gobello *Letras* 244-5; Romano 329-31), line 31); women know that in spite of suffering along the way, they still retain their femininity: “al final / no olvidaste el percal” (lines 34-35). The statistical results from the data of this research will show how this gendered discourse may be predicted by the presence of given terms in the corpus, thereby illuminating ways in which females and males may deviate from these stereotypes.

1.2 Corpus and Methodology

The corpus of tango lyrics is derived from two principal sources: *Las Letras del Tango, Antología Cronológica 1900-1980* (Romano), and *Letras del tango. Selección (1897-1981)* (Gobello *Letras*). Additionally, the well known and previously mentioned website, www.todotango.com (García Blaya et al.) provided digitalized copies of lyrics in order to facilitate processing in corpus analysis tools. Archetti contends: “Romano’s anthology is by far the most authoritative because each tango text is accompanied by a careful history of recording—the only way of knowing the real historical impact of the tango in question” (*Masculinities* 141). I concur with this assessment and have therefore deferred to Romano’s text in the majority of instances, ranking Gobello’s *Letras* and Todotango.com second and third, respectively, as resources. A fourth resource, <http://www.hermanotango.com.ar> (Sibilin) was employed on rare occasion, only as necessary. The primary reference dictionary for *lunfardo* terms is Conde’s

Diccionario etimológico del lunfardo, with the *Diccionario de la lengua española* (RAE DLE) and the *Diccionario de americanismos* (ASALE) providing additional support for definitions and etymologies. The rationale for this will be given in the methodology section of chapter four.

A difficulty presented in the selection of the corpus is the consistency of the lyrics from source to source; oftentimes a vocalist has made a subtle change in a lyric. For purposes of simplicity, in this study I only consider variations of the lyrics if they have a direct bearing on the representations of gender in the lyric. While I have made every effort to establish a definitive version of a given lyric, ultimately the corpus necessarily defers to Romano's anthology, as that author has already taken the time to make those distinctions.

The primary criteria for the selection of tangos for the corpus was based on inclusion of direct references in the lyrics to women and to men, as they stand juxtaposed in relationship to each other and their roles in the society of the period, which will be defined within the parameters of the years 1897 to 1945, the rationale for which will be explained further. Not all tango lyrics are about male/female relations; many describe feelings of nostalgia for places, disgust for adverse social conditions, or even enthusiasm for events such as horse races. Therefore, I selected lyrics whose general terms and themes deal specifically with gender. Gender-based cultural markers will also give a clue that a lyric meets the selection criteria. I have identified tangos which address gender in some form with regards to a) male/female relationships, b) male identity, masculinity, and activity, c) female identity, femininity, and activity, d) the city and its environs, and e) the vicissitudes of life.

As my focus will be on the lyrics, rather than the music or the dance, I introduce a new model for classifying tango lyrics based on the observations and suggestions of José Gobello in the introduction to *Letras* (11-12) and on observations made in conversation with author and tango researcher Gustavo Benzecry Sabá (Personal Interview). Traditional categorizations of tango music have divided the genre principally into three chronologically based periods: *la guardia vieja* (approx. 1895-

1925), *la guardia nueva* (approx. 1925-1935), and *la época de oro* (approx. 1935-1955), with various overlapping dates and subdivisions between these (Archetti *Masculinities* 137; Assunção 125; Gobello *Breve historia* 82; Salas 93). Most of these divisions have been based on variations and innovations in the music, orchestration, or presentation of tango; however, with the exception of the general acceptance of “Mi noche triste” as being the first *tango canción* in which the lyrics present a clear narrative, little consideration has been given to what the words had to say or the subtle ways in which *how* they said it evolved. Therefore, I am establishing a new classification of tango based solely on the lyrics and their authors, which will then be used as an aid in the corpus selection as well as in the evaluation of my findings. Additionally, this will become a useful tool in future, more extensive work on tango lyrics as a means of facilitating the identification of thematic and linguistic similarities or differences in the lyrics.

The Gobellian model is rooted in the contributions of three main contributors: Ángel Villoldo, Pascual Contursi,²³ and Ástor Piazzolla, the first two being known primarily for their talent as lyricists and the latter for his avant-garde musical compositions that led to the effectual demise of the tango text. Lyrics categorized by Gobello as being “Villoldian” clearly exemplify a certain thematic coherence, which Savigliano has referred to as *ruffianesque* (“Whiny Ruffians” 84) and which will be elaborated on in a subsequent chapter. Gobello’s “Contursian” lyrics are what Savigliano also describes as *romantic* lyrics (“Whiny Ruffians” 84), but beyond the merely romantic these lyrics are tied together by a clear narrative structure, which more definitively sets them apart from their Villoldian predecessors and permits the inclusion of non-romantic themes. However, the incorporation of the Piazzollan period in this scheme became problematic, as the work of Ástor Piazzolla is perhaps most notable for its focus on instrumentation, rather than for any significant development in poetic text.

²³ Not to be confused with his son, José María Contursi, another well-known tango lyricist.

On the other hand, classification systems developed by other researchers became overly complex for the purposes of this study. Donald Castro (*Argentine Tango* 8-9) divides tango lyrics into nine principal themes, ranging from the abstract (e.g. love, satire, philosophy) to the concrete (e.g. the countryside, the city). Vidart has created four principal categories: “el lenguaje, el estilo de las letras, la elocución,” and “la temática;” each of these is further divided into a myriad of subsections and is perhaps one of the most complete taxonomies of tango lyrics (69-125). In *Poéticas del tango*, Conde chose to approach the lyrics via five iconic lyricists: Contursi, Discépolo, Castillo, Expósito, and Ferrer, dedicating a chapter to analyzing each (17-194). In another approach, Alda Salzarulo distinguishes between “letristas” (e.g. María Luisa Carnelli, Emilio Fresedo, Manuel Romero) and “poetas” in her analysis of the works of nearly thirty tango authors (29-155). Finally, Romano (7-19) likewise discusses thematic organization in terms of well-known authors, with the exception of his mention of “estribillos procaces que acompañara a los tangos primitivos,” i.e. the verses to *tangos prostibularios*²⁴ (7). He cites Villoldo, Contursi, Discépolo, and Manzi as the principal models for categorizing tango lyrics.

I have created a rubric that will prove useful in identifying similarities or contrasts between tango texts, as these are no longer tied to a strictly diachronic classification system, as they would be in terms of *guardia vieja*, *guardia nueva*, and so forth. The names of the five categories in my taxonomy are: *Personajes* (abbreviated P), *Amor y desamor* (A), *Cambalache* (C), *Nostalgias* (N), *Poética nueva tanguera* (PN).²⁵ This model not only furnishes an underlying thematic structure, but also is more adaptable than the traditional classifications of tango as it allows for the utmost

²⁴ *Tango prostibulario* alludes to the alleged relationship of tango to prostitution and refers principally to instrumental tango music having picaresque or risqué titles. Varela defines it thus: “Son tangos que se componen en los últimos años del siglo XIX y los primeros del XX, que no tienen letra y donde la música no tiene ningún carácter particular vinculado a la sensualidad o al erotismo. Los títulos tienen dos caras, humor y sexo a la vez, algarabía festiva y cierto pudor público” (46). *Tango prostibulario* will be addressed later in chapters two and three.

²⁵ A sixth category, *Posmodernismo tanguero* (PM) was additionally created, consisting of “electronic tango” that originated between 1990-2000 (Benzecry “Etapas”; Liska 52-54). However, tangos in this category fall outside the parameters of this study and are therefore not discussed further.

flexibility in its categorizations. Furthermore, primary, secondary, and tertiary categories may be assigned to include multiple themes ranked in order of predominance in the lyric. For example, in the metadata in the corpus,²⁶ both “Loca” (Gobello *Letras* 61-62) and “Ventarrón” (Gobello *Letras* 192-3; Romano 234-35) were assigned to *Personajes* for category 1 as this is the strongest theme; “Loca” was given *Cambalache* as category 2 and *Nostalgias* as category 3, while “Ventarrón” was assigned *Nostalgias* and *Cambalache* for categories 2 and 3, respectively. In this study lyrics were evaluated based on their inclusion in category 1 only; secondary and tertiary categories may be examined in future research. A description of the thematic categories now follows.

Category P is titled *Personajes*, indicating that the primary thematic focus of the lyrics that have been assigned to this group is the characterization of the protagonists. A lyric in *Personajes* will portray a male, female, or both with particular reference to their personality traits, and often to physical traits as well, particularly in ways that those individuals may stand out as strong (mentally or physically) or extremely capable of a particular activity (e.g. dancing tango). However, the category also includes personae who are mocked for their characteristics or mannerisms, as in the tango “Niño bien” (Romano 110-11), which will be discussed in chapter six. Additionally, lyrics in Category P may be described as follows: they tend to be picaresque, there is generally no straightforward narrative, although a narrative may exist in lyrics that span one or two other categories, and are mainly concerned with providing a description of the subject of the lyric, who is usually male, but on rare occasions may be female. Regarding males, the emphasis tends to fall on constructions of masculinity apposite to the period and musical genre, such as male bravado and virility. In the case of songs by Villoldo in particular, the poetic voice is often in the first person, however this is not requisite. Some lyrics will describe a female, rarely in the first person, occasionally from a gender-neutral poetic voice, but most often the

²⁶ The corpus software Sketch Engine, used in this study, allows for files to be tagged with metadata, which may then be used to sort text types. This will be discussed in chapter four.

female is considered from the perspective of the male gaze. The lyricist that most exemplifies this category is the aforementioned Villoldo, one of his most iconic lyrics of this type being “El Porteñito,” composed in 1903.

Amor y desamor is the title of the next category, designated as Category A, which deals with themes of love in a myriad of aspects: romantic love, filial or familial love, unrequited love, love loss, and so on, and which by far comprises the predominant theme in tango (Ulla 10). This category corresponds to what Gobello (*Letras* 11-12) would have denominated *Contursian* lyrics, Pascual Contursi’s emblematic lyric “Mi noche triste” setting the standard for this classification. Lyrics in Category A show a clear narrative structure and are often labeled *tango canción* (del Priore Loc. 1308; Gobello *Letras* 11; Varela 17) to distinguish them from other styles of lyrics, such as those common to Category P. These narratives generally portray romantic betrayal and loss, particularly in the context of women’s treachery as epitomized by infidelity or abandonment, but additionally may represent a man’s jealousy of a romantic partner and violent revenge. Category A lyrics rarely portray love in an ideal, pure, or happy form, yet when they do the loved one is usually a parent, particularly a mother, grandmother, or sister.

The third category (C) has been designated *Cambalache*, in honor of its most representative author, Enrique Santos Discépolo. A *cambalache* is a second-hand store in which used items of little value are jumbled together and sold (Conde *Diccionario* 82), and Discépolo’s tango of that name²⁷ metaphorically depicts a world in chaos in which relative morality is called into question. Lyrics in this category are characterized by satirical or cynical views of the world and life with reference to male and female protagonists. Thus, the tango archetypes of the “fallen” woman (Dalbosco “La construcción” 31-32), Savigliano’s “whiny ruffian” (“Whiny Ruffians” 94), or debauched men as portrayed in such lyrics as Azucena Maizani’s “Pero yo sé” (Gobello *Letras* 149-50; Romano 145-46) are included here. While these lyrics can be quite poetical, they routinely express strong sarcasm, criticism, or bitterness toward the subject of the

²⁷ Unfortunately, the tango “Cambalache” was not deemed germane to this study.

narrative. Women are censured for immorality, physical ugliness, or even illness, while men are scorned for debauchery, posturing, or failure to achieve success.

Lyrics that evoke a sense of nostalgia and engage memory are included in Category N: *Nostalgias*. The words to these songs are concerned with lost love in the past, memories of youth, life “before” the narrative present, or of the *barrio*. The renowned tango poet Homero Manzi can be credited with developing this type of lyric that tends to be more poetic than other song lyrics and has nostalgia as a principal theme. The places and symbols of youth, such as the *barrio*, specific streets or buildings, or the old street lamps are some of the more common metaphors employed, evoking former, lost, or abandoned loves, particularly portraying women in memory and desire.

The next category is also noted for its poetics and is thereby denominated *Poética nueva tanguera*, or PN, and is best represented by the works of Horacio Ferrer. These new tango poetics employ themes and descriptions of the modern city, including its development, deterioration, poverty, and crime; the city and social conditions are personified as the protagonists of the lyrics. Additionally, love is portrayed as a universal theme, and the sentiment itself becomes a protagonist in the narrative of romantic frustration rather than a specific man or woman, often with references to Bohemianism. Finally, lyrics in this category may also offer homage to the great tango composers, poets, and musicians.

The Academia Porteña de Lunfardo website (*Academia Porteña*) boasts a collection of over 8000 pieces of sheet music for tangos and “paratangos,” of which, presumably, a large portion would meet the above selection criteria for the corpus. This quantity of lyrics, however, would be beyond the limitations of space and time for this particular study; creation of a comprehensive corpus of all extant tango lyrics will have to be reserved for post-doctoral work. In order to create a manageable corpus, therefore, I have limited it to lyrics from a specific time frame spanning 1897 to 1945. This includes those tangos I classify as belonging to the categories of *Personajes*, *Amor*

y *Desamor*, *Cambalache*, *Nostalgia*, and some from *Poética nueva tanguera*, ignoring and excluding any lyrics composed post 1945.

There are several justifications for this time frame and categorization, which will be made more explicit in later chapters. First, censorship began to be imposed on tango lyrics in 1943, eliminating many *lunfardo* terms for the songs (Conde *Lunfardo* 405), as will be presented in chapter three. Primarily, though, the thematic shifts that occur in the lyrics over time as men's and women's relative positions in Argentinian society evolved have led logically to this cut-off point. Women only gained the right to vote in Argentina in 1947 (Emmerich) but by the beginning of that decade tango lyrics such as "Malena" and "Percal" were beginning to show at least some compassion for and understanding of the plight of women rather than mere condemnation of their chosen *tanguera* life (Dujovne 177-85). A woman who in earlier lyrics was portrayed with scorn as debauched or fallen may at this later date be seen to be justified, or even somehow empowered, by her situation. Additionally, many lyrics dating from the 1950s onward seem to steer away from romantic or gender-based themes and dwell more on topics of nostalgia or national pride; this is definitely the case with most lyrics in the *Poética Nueva* category, and also to a large extent with poetics of *Nostalgia*-based tangos, nevertheless a few lyrics pre-dating 1945 from these categories were included. Furthermore, this later period is characterized by the advent of Ástor Piazzolla's avant-garde compositions, belonging more in the realm of orchestral rather than popular music. While Piazzolla's music is compelling in its own right, it represents a definite break with previous styles, including the few tangos that have an accompanying lyric, such as "Balada para un loco" (Gobello *Letras* 293; Romano 452); they simply do not fit within the purview of this study.

Having established the criteria for selecting the tango lyrics, the corpus was compiled as a list of tangos in an Excel spreadsheet: 285 in total dating from 1897 to 1945. The texts of each lyric were then uploaded to Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff and Rychlý) to create the Tango Lyrics Corpus, the first linguistic corpus of tango lyrics. Specific methodology pertaining to the creation of this corpus and to structuring the

statistical analysis is given in chapter four, as appropriate to presentation of scientific data. It should be noted that a full-fledged corpus-based study is generally associated with a significantly large reference corpus against which linguistic theories are tested. This study, on the other hand, will utilize the tools of corpus linguistics to focus on a highly specialized, restricted corpus of a specific type of text in a specific context to look for patterns within that context. The Tango Lyrics Corpus is the first of its kind and with further development may indeed become the reference corpus for tango lyrics in the future.

1.3 Thesis Structure

The structure of the thesis progresses from a discussion of the changing historical and cultural contexts for tango lyrics over the period in question, through the linguistic development and poetic inclusion of the cultural markers identified for this study, leading to statistical analysis of tango discourse and its representations of gender in the corpus.

Chapter two will provide the historical and cultural context for the basis of this study, examining historical events that pertain to the development and position of women and men in Argentinian society and to the development of tango. For example, one outcome of the lifestyle changes incurred by Argentinian *gauchos* as a result of the pampas wars and the fencing of land was their displacement and eventual migration to the city of Buenos Aires, ultimately giving rise to the *compadrito* of tango (Assunção 31; Salas 70). Statistics relating to male-female population ratios, immigration figures, and women's occupations are important in understanding the composition of the society from which the tango emerged, as is acknowledging the drastic changes that were occurring in society, particularly for women. By taking women's and men's positions in Argentinian society just prior to the advent of tango as a point of departure and following their evolution, I will show to what extent their history correlates, or indeed diverges, with the development of gendered representations in tango lyrics. This is necessary in order to juxtapose the ways in

which ~~how~~ male and female characters are either “doing” or “undoing” gender within the context of tango.

I must emphasize that I am concerned with tango history and its origins insofar as these relate to the lyrics rather than to the music or dance. Polemics on the alleged African roots of tango, its Cuban connections (e.g. which came first, the *habanera* or the tango?), and its social status I leave to other tango experts.²⁸ Additionally, while I strongly disagree with the mythic notion that tango was engendered exclusively in brothels *per se*, I emphatically adhere to its undeniable connection with the *porteño* underworld and marginalized *orilleros* [people from the outskirts] and *minas* from the lower classes. Not only does historical information bear this out, but the sociolinguistic evidence is clear: the denotations of the terms studied in this thesis as well as *lunfardo*’s very origins provide the evidence.

The sociolinguistic context is presented in chapter three. It is important to contextualize some history and development of *lunfardo* and its use in tango lyrics. Following Fowler and M.A.K. Halliday, *lunfardo* did not originate as an anti-language used among the Buenos Aires criminal class as commonly claimed; by the time it reached the tango lyric, although not exactly a mainstream youth slang, it certainly had evolved to become its own category of *lenguaje orillero*, which may later be classed as tango *lunfardo* (D. Castro *Argentine Tango* 17-51). Offspring of the great influx of immigrants from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century, *lunfardo* owes its creation to the amalgamation of terms borrowed from those newcomers’ various languages, along with indigenous languages such as quechua, and of course, the ubiquitous Italian dialects and the Italian-Spanish interlanguage, *cocoliche*²⁹ (D. Castro *Argentine Tango* 15-17; Conde *Lunfardo* 44-55; Espíndola 7-8; Gobello *Nuevo diccionario* 9-10). These, along with its characteristic use of *vesre* (similar to English

²⁸ See, for example, Gobello, *Breve historia crítica del tango*; Lamas and Binda, *El tango en la sociedad porteña*; Selles, *El origen del tango*, Thompson, *Tango. The Art History of Love*, and Vidart, *El tango y su mundo*.

²⁹ See chapter three (section 3.3.2) for a discussion of *cocoliche*.

back slang) and picaresque metaphors are what give *porteño* Spanish and, consequently, tango lyrics their distinctive linguistic flavor.

The findings from processing the texts in the corpus-based software are discussed in the fourth chapter. Statistical results are presented and analyzed, emphasizing relationships between the study terms and their primary collocates and how these contribute to the establishment of discourse prosodies in the texts. Furthermore, the significant results contribute an element of extrapolation that makes possible reasonable predictions of how individual terms might behave in forming discourse prosodies across this corpus, as well as all extant tango lyrics. The sociolinguistic analysis of this information will serve to reinforce the particularity of the language of the tango versus standard Spanish, as well as give a conclusive idea of how the cultural markers are used in the text to portray gender and gender relationships. The fourth chapter lays the foundation for more in depth analysis in the succeeding two chapters.

While chapter four generally shows the creation of discourse prosodies based on evidence from collocations and concordances, the discussion in chapter five is centered more specifically on the pragmatic linguistic strategies and rhetorical devices used to create those prosodies. I will examine one of the five thematic categories, Category A, *Amor y desamor*, in detail, first by highlighting inconspicuous discourse prosodies that are revealed by this methodology as they pertain to depictions of relationships between men and women. I will then continue with a close reading of a specific lyric, “Se cortó la redoblona” (Roldán) examining pragmatics such as evidentiality, implicature, politeness, and deixis, mentioned previously, along with the use of rhetorical devices such as metaphor, repetition, and irony with evidence from the text, analyzing how these contribute to the gendered discourse prosodies surrounding males and females and their amorous relationships as evidenced by that lyric.

Similar in structure to chapter five, the sixth chapter will then evaluate another of the themes, this time from Category P, *Personajes*. I will again commence with a

discussion of the discourse prosodies preeminent in this category, however this review will be from the perspective of masculinities and femininities in tango lyrics, as elaborated previously in this chapter. The tangos presented for interpretation in chapter six are “Primer agua” (M. Castro), a lyric composed by a female author describing a man, and “Desde piba” (Alemán), composed by a male author and describing the life of a woman.

The seventh and final chapter will summarize the conclusions drawn from this research, reviewing the original research questions and discussing the success of this study, and it will include propositions for further, post-doctoral work based on the Tango Lyrics Corpus.

1.4 Conclusion

In 2009, Argentinian/Uruguayan tango was inscribed in UNESCO’s Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (“Tango”). The success of this research will make lasting contributions in the fields of Gender Studies, Latin American Studies, and, ultimately, with post-doctoral work, Translation Studies, gaining insight regarding the presentation of women and men in tango lyrics and in Argentinian and Uruguayan culture and enhancing the understanding of cultural markers overall. Additionally, it will also serve to contribute to the knowledge, understanding, and preservation of tango lyrics, developing new models for the study and analysis of the texts as distinct from the music and dance. Tango aficionados worldwide number in the hundreds of thousands, if not millions, and many of them have very little idea of what is being sung while they dance. This research will provide yet one more source for the diffusion of and appreciation for this relatively unknown discourse.

Chapter Two. Origins of Tango

2.1 Introduction

As previously indicated, the corpus of this study comprises lyrics written between 1897 and 1945, a period of rapid development in the River Plate zone. Essential to analyzing the language of tango, the multi-faceted historical and cultural context of tango in Buenos Aires and Montevideo during this period must be understood. The three primary, interrelated facets of tango are its music, dance, and lyrics, each having their own historical and cultural circumstances, myths, and protagonists in the larger milieu of the genre. Indeed, with newer research such as *The Quest for the Embrace* (Benzecry Sabá), *El tango en la sociedad porteña* (Lamas and Binda), *Tango: The Art History of love* (Thompson), and *Tango y política* (Varela), the historical origins of tango music and dance, in particular, have become highly contested topics. For example, the extent of tango's ties to African culture, which will be discussed in a subsequent section of this chapter, tango's musicological origins (whether emanating from *tango andaluz*, *habanera cubana*, *milonga*, or *candombe*,³⁰ or a combination of all or some of these), and tango's alleged genesis in the brothels of Buenos Aires and Montevideo are all topics subject to dispute and will be addressed in this chapter. What is germane to this section on historical context is that there is as yet no consensus on all aspects of tango's historical origins, at least in terms of its music and dance. Regarding the lyrics, the historical landscape is more clearly defined by archival records of published sheet music and recordings of lyrics that have been definitively identified by historians and musicologists as being "tango;" however questions still exist pertaining to likely precursors to the verses of these songs. To that end, chapter three will focus exclusively on the development of the lyrics and of *lunfardo*; what is presented here is an overview of tango history and its place in the culture of the River Plate zone insofar as this context directly contributes to our

³⁰ These refer to musical genres. See glossary.

understanding of gender construction in the world of the lyrics over the period being studied.

Tango is almost exclusively viewed as originating from Argentina, as epitomized by the title of the stage show “Tango Argentino” first presented in Paris in 1983 and New York in 1985 (Oliva 122-23). However, tango developed simultaneously in Montevideo, Uruguay and in Buenos Aires, Argentina, as evidenced by the numerous composers, authors, and performers from both sides of the River Plate.³¹ Uruguay’s contribution to the genre has tended to be neglected, as Brian Bockelman describes:

The origins of the tango are no more Argentine than Uruguayan, but as the dance began to circulate beyond South America, it became intimately associated with Argentine national culture—except in the eyes of the Uruguayans themselves, who continue to lay rightful claim to its inheritance. (“Between” 586)

Uruguayan scholar Daniel Vidart asserts categorically: “El tango es rioplatense. Pertenece por igual al Uruguay y a la Argentina” (Vidart 14). That said, it should be clarified that when this thesis refers to the River Plate zone, this encompasses principally Montevideo and Buenos Aires from post-independence to approximately 1945, with a focus on the latter metropolis, and not the entire littoral incorporated by the earlier Viceroyalty of the River Plate, which included parts of Bolivia and Paraguay in addition to Argentina and Uruguay (Brown 66-67). While every effort will be made not to overlook the critical Uruguayan contribution to tango, the *bonaerense* focus is somewhat driven by *lunfardo* being the centerpiece of this study; *lunfardo* is a language variety that originated among the lower classes of Buenos Aires prior to and during the period being studied, although it is currently recognized as used in modern Montevideo as well (Conde *Lunfardo* 136).

³¹ Many tango musicians, lyricists, and vocalists were Uruguayan, such as Manuel Aróztegui (1888-1938), Enrique Saborido (1878-1941), Gerardo Matos Rodríguez (1897-1948), and Alberico Spátola (1885-1941), to name a few (Vidart 14-15). Even the iconic tango vocalist, Carlos Gardel (1890-1935), refused to specify his origins as either Argentinian or Uruguayan, stating famously, “Señores, yo soy rioplatense como el tango” (qtd. in Vidart 16).

2.2 History of the River Plate Zone

The post-independence period of both Argentina and Uruguay, dating from 1810 (Brown 91) and 1825 (Pendle 23), respectively, was one of turmoil, marked principally by the dictatorship of Argentinian General Juan Manuel Rosas, who became *caudillo* of Buenos Aires from 1829 until 1852, and Uruguay's *Guerra Grande*, occurring between 1832 and 1851, (Brown 98-132, 286; Cardozo 501), as well as the *Guerra de la Triple Alianza* uniting Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil against Paraguay from 1864 to 1879 (Rock 126-29). As both countries began to emerge from conflict in the 1850s, the disparate elements that would give rise to tango began to come together along the River Plate.

In 1845, more than twenty years prior to his presidency, Sarmiento published his seminal work, *Facundo, Civilización y Barbarie*, ostensibly criticizing the dictatorship of Rosas through his denouncement of the *caudillo* system, and laid the foundations for a modern, "civilized" state, including his advocacy for public education and literacy (Rock 114). Sarmiento's commitment to education created the circumstances for Roca's subsequent Law 1420 in 1884 mandating primary school for all children between the ages of 6 and 14 (Argentina; Szurmuk 107; Varela 13). In Uruguay, in the midst of political strife, José Pedro Varela published *La educación del pueblo* in 1874 (Cardozo 588), which proposed a regimen of education that was compulsory, free, and secular, and which finally passed into law in 1877 (590). Both the Argentinian and Uruguayan educational systems eventually became highly successful, particularly in creating a sense of community and nationhood. William Acree emphasizes the importance of this development:

The public primary school was a linchpin in the construction of a national community and a site where the state could inculcate feelings of patriotism. Furthermore, within the first thirty years after its establishment in the region in the 1880s, the public education system in Uruguay and Argentina became the most successful in Latin America. [...] Elementary schools were the most numerous, well attended, and important institutions in the new public system. (Acree 296)

For the first time, children of that era were afforded a consistent, common education; amongst this generation were children such as Pascual Contursi, Celedonio Flores, Enrique Santos Discépolo, Manuel Romero, and Enrique Cadícamo, who went on to become some of tango's first and most prolific lyricists (Varela 14). Varela maintains that it is this common education that gave rise to the poetic voice of the *tango canción* and which set it apart from the earlier *tango prostibulario*. The *tango canción* is described by Varela as a new voice of “fuerte contenido moral, muy similar al ofrecido por la escuela primaria obligatoria sancionada por ley en 1884 y a la que asisten quienes van a escribir las letras de los tangos” (17). This “contenido moral” was in fact a highly judgmental morality, generally a misogynist condemnation of women's non-conformity to gender roles as transmitted in the narrative of the lyrics. We shall see clear examples of such moralizing through the *tango canción* in the analyses of the lyrics in chapters five and six.

The following sections will discuss four segments of River Plate society that are crucial elements in the history of tango as a whole, with emphasis on their impact on the lyrics: Afro-descendants, *gauchos*, and immigrants, and also the women and men within and beyond these groups.

2.3 Afro-descendants: *Candombe*, *Comparsa*, and *Payada*

Highly controversial and topical to the discussion of tango's history is the subject of its ethnic origins, specifically pertaining to tango's conceivable evolution from African music and dance. *Tango. The Art History of Love* (Thompson) treats this subject extensively, and the documentary film *Tango Negro. The African Roots of Tango* (Dir. Dom Pedro) traces the cultural and historical development of tango music. The Angolan director of the film, Dom Pedro, and its principal narrator, Argentinian musician Juan Carlos Cáceres, maintain that the Spanish word *tango* originates from the Kikongo word *ntangu*³² and that there is a clear connection between the

³² Time, which is derived from *tanga*, one meaning of which is dance (Adjaye 21).

candombe music and dance of the African slaves from the River Plate region and tango as we know it today (Dir. Dom Pedro). Indeed, Fernando Assunção argues that in Uruguay, before 1830, dances in African slave communities were denominated *calenda* or *tango*, and after this date were referred to as *candombe* (39-40); in other words, he claims that *candombe* and *tango* were synonymous terms from the outset of their history until the advent of tango around 1870, and this is supported by John Charles Chasteen in his study (52-67).

African slaves were first transported to the River Plate region in the late 1580s, some to be conveyed to northern territories of the River Plate Spanish colony, and others to remain in Buenos Aires and Montevideo (Brown 27, 274). By 1778 at least one half of the population of cities in the interior provinces were Afro-descendants or of mixed ethnicity, with fewer residing in Buenos Aires as the need for laborers was not as great as on the *estancias*, or ranches (Gobello *Breve historia* 14). According to Chasteen, any reference to tango dating from 1800 and continuing through the first half of the century pertains to any kind of dancing that these slaves did to drums (Chasteen 45). Originally the African slaves, violently displaced from their homeland, grouped together on Sundays and holidays into “nations” approximating their points of origin such as Congo or Angola. On the margins of Montevideo and Buenos Aires, in the few spaces that were allowed to them, they created syncretic ritual dances based on their combined tribal heritages and which were then denominated *candombes*, although, as previously stated, other terms such as *calenda*, *tango*, or *tambo* were often applied. In the *candombe*, a ritual king was chosen, who then reigned over that particular nation, and each nation created its own characteristic rhythms and dance steps. The *candombe* grew out of the need of displaced Africans to create a semblance of community, a group “who, needing each other, immediately created new signs of collective identity in a familiar African mode,” and to build a space for that community to come together and celebrate its newly amalgamated identity (Chasteen 54).

While the *candombe* arose out of a particular community’s private need, the dances were conducted in open spaces and the noise of the drums made their

presence felt, rapidly attracting the attention of the principally white-European colonists to this Afro-descendants' celebration. Beginning with the participation of *candombe* dancers in the Montevideo Corpus Christi procession in 1760, and evolving to annual Epiphany celebrations on both sides of the river in the early 1800s, to a certain extent these syncretic recreations of African traditions became incorporated as an intrinsic part of River Plate culture (55-56). The Christian tradition of the Three Kings celebrated at Epiphany corresponded symbolically with the kings of the Black nations, and the *candomberos* would dance through the streets of Montevideo to the sites where the nations had their headquarters. In 1862 some six thousand spectators followed the processions through the streets of the Uruguayan capital (57). In Buenos Aires, dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas was known to have attended the Black nations' dances in the company of his family, and in 1836 sponsored a *candombe* in the main plaza of Buenos Aires (Chasteen 56-57; Salvatore 60). Eventually, the *candombe* processions shifted from Epiphany to Carnival time, generally in February, a move that further strengthens arguments for its bond with the early tango, as carnivals were later popular venues for social dance events that included the tango (Lamas and Binda 145-163). As the *candombe* had been continually associated with disorderly conduct and increasingly subjected to prohibitions (Benzecry Sabá *Quest* 16, 20), gradually it was suppressed; Assunção points out that the "true" *candombe* appeared to die out between 1870 and 1880.³³ As will be shown, in part, the downturn of the original *candombes* was due to the drastic decline in the Black population over the course of the nineteenth century, particularly in Buenos Aires, and coincided with the same period (late 1800s) when tango was beginning to emerge in the urban neighborhoods of Buenos Aires and Montevideo (Assunção 40).

Shortly following independence from Spain, both Argentina and Uruguay took initiatives to abolish slavery; in Argentina via the enactment in 1813 of the Free Wombs Law, which declared that children born to slaves would be born free (Brown

³³ Indeed, Rossi declares that the apogee of the *candombe* in Montevideo was the period from 1875 to 1880 (Rossi 63).

286), followed by Uruguayan leader José Gervasio Artigas' declaration in 1814 to put an end to the slave trade on the east side of the River Plate (Rock 91). Although slavery was not fully, officially abolished in Argentina until 1853, this intent towards abolition perhaps set the tone on both sides of the river for later practices of exchanging conscription for emancipation, whose effect on Blacks and their participation in tango will be discussed shortly.

In spite of being freed over time through the Free Wombs Law, former African slaves in Argentina, especially, suffered at the hands of a government whose policies promoted the formation of a racially pure state (Masiello 5). Throughout the River Plate region, during the *Guerra Grande* and the *Guerra de la Triple Alianza*, for example, male Black slaves were offered emancipation in exchange for voluntary enlistment and were sent to the front lines of battle, virtually decimating their demographic (Rock 95). Following this civil strife, in 1879, prior to his presidency, General Julio A. Roca led his army to the provinces to exterminate the indigenous peoples of the Teheulche and Aruacana tribes in a campaign to appropriate their land known as the "Conquest of the Desert," (Brown 137-40; Varela 51-55). The purpose of the campaign was to clear land for settlement, ostensibly for the white, European immigrants that Argentina's leaders hoped to attract to the region (Assunção 24; Rock 141-3; Varela 56). In this, as in all the previous wars, Afro-Argentines, Afro-Uruguayans, and *gauchos* were conscripted to fight, and the effects on these groups were devastating.

While it is true that slavery was not completely abolished until the middle of the century, due to this practice of conscription it was significantly diminished by the 1820s (Rock 123-24) as the number of Black men remaining in the labor force plummeted. For example, in the city of Buenos Aires, the total population in 1810 was 32,000 inhabitants, 9600 (30%) of whom were Black. By 1887 the city's population had risen to 450,000, and yet there were only 8100 (1.8%) Blacks remaining in the area (Fejerman et al. 164). Additionally, a national policy of miscegenation promoted mixed-race relationships, insofar as the woman was Black and the man white (García

Fanlo 18); the number of Afro-descendant offspring rose even as their parents' ethnic heritage was being eradicated (Poosson 87) and they themselves were being re-categorized as *trigueños* ["wheat-colored," a vague term used to describe non-blacks] and underrepresented in national censuses (Andrews 84, 89). The final blow to the Black population in Buenos Aires came in the form of the yellow fever epidemic of 1871 that began in the poor areas of the city and which killed over 13,600 people (Gobello *Breve historia* 15; Rock 143). With very few Blacks remaining in Buenos Aires, the *candombe* no longer proliferated as it previously had on the west side of the river and came to be particularly associated with Uruguayan culture in future years (Benzecry Sabá *Quest* 43).

As long as there were African-born participants in the *candombes*, the Black dances retained their original community-building significance (Chasteen 54), but as that generation was decimated and the remaining Afro-descendant population became more concerned with assimilation, the *candombe* lost its original meaning in Afro-descendant society. The younger generation "became less assertive in their claims to public space and [...] often sought to blend in with white society, which was increasing exponentially due to immigration" (57). As a result of their desire for assimilation, including the shift from holding *candombes* at Epiphany to Carnival, the nature of the celebrations began to shift as well (Salvatore 71). The connection to tango lyrics begins with the rise of songs created by the *comparsas*, or the costumed groups that now replaced the Black nations in the Carnival celebrations in the second half of the nineteenth century, culminating with the iconic tango anthem, "La cumparsita (Si supieras)" (Gobello *Letras* 83; Romano 64-65).³⁴

Around the mid-1860s, groups of white elite males began appearing in Carnival parades in blackface, in mockery of the Black *candombe* groups. Furthermore, groups

³⁴ Music composed by Gerardo Hernán Matos Rodríguez c.1915-16 and first recorded by Roberto Firpo in 1916 for Odeón, N°. 483. In 1924 Pascual Contursi and Enrique Pedro Maroni wrote lyrics titled "Si supieras," which they set to Matos Rodríguez's music without the latter's permission. Although Matos Rodríguez later wrote and recorded his own lyrics to his music (1926 and 1930, respectively), and in spite of winning a copyright lawsuit in 1948, it is the Contursi-Maroni version of the song that has endured (Gobello *Letras* 83, 87; Romano 64-65).

of Afro-Argentines and Afro-Uruguayans, who were by this time generally of fairer skin color than their African ancestors, would also appear in blackface, ostensibly mocking the mockers (D. Castro *Argentine Tango* 96; Chasteen 59-62). According to Chasteen, the significant link between *candombe* and tango was that “[w]hen blackface Carnival groups [...] present[ed] one of their familiar [black] caricatures, it was invariably called a tango,” and “[a]ny mocking musical impersonation of blackness was called a tango by about 1860” (62). Along with these impersonations came song lyrics that, although by no means constituting true tango lyrics at that point since they were set to the music of the *comparsa* and not identified by the public as such, could be construed as part of the proto-tango category from this period. The lyrics to songs generated by each *comparsa* were typically self-referential, endorsements of the group’s superior qualities, but also included others in a mock-African dialect that were referred to generally as “tangos.” This fragment from the Black periodical *La Broma* provides an example:

Comparsa Tango lyric:

Vamo a cantá, negrita
Pur cierto,
Nuestro tango popular

(“Doble esperanza”; “Tango la broma” qtd. in Chasteen 62)

Finally, it seems improbably coincidental that the tango written and recorded c.1916 for the *comparsa* of the Federación de Estudiantes de Uruguay would become tango’s most iconic melody: “La Cumparsita.” While it is impossible to claim an unambiguous, direct line from *candombe* to *comparsa* and *comparsa* to tango, it is clear that the latter developed in a culturally heterogeneous environment, key elements of which undoubtedly left their mark.

Also around this time, during the decades of the 1870s and 1880s evidence begins to show the appearance of an embraced couple’s dance involving *cortes* and *quebradas* in the spaces frequented by Blacks, whether *pulperías* [general stores],

academias de baile,³⁵ or brothels (Assunção 44). Any dance in which *cortes* or *quebradas* were performed came to be interchangeably referred to as *milonga* or tango and the venues where they were danced were closely linked to Afro-descendant spaces (Rossi 115). The transition from *candombe* to tango, if not direct, is strongly implied: in Montevideo the *Academia San Felipe* became well-known for the *milonga*, remaining open until 1899, and was located near the plot where *candombes* had been held earlier in the century (Chasteen 64).

In spite of compelling research connecting tango to African culture, many contemporary Argentinians and Uruguayans are either completely ignorant of these relationships or deny that they ever existed, a phenomenon that is also stressed in the documentary film *Tango Negro*. Some are quite adamant in denying the connection (Taboada), yet others appear to be willing to keep an open mind, such as tango dance researcher Benzecry Sabá, who postulates the *candombe*'s influence on modern tango dance:

Some *candombe* dancers walk[ed] in short, staccato steps, in S-shapes... [...] It is very likely that the 'S-walk' evolved into the *ocho* of the tango; from the contortions came the physical capacity to dance *quebradas*, and from the *escobero*, the *bastonero*, the conductor with his baton who would direct tango dancing in some brothels. (*Quest* 21)

Indeed, in the February 15, 1902 edition of the popular Buenos Aires magazine, *Caras y caretas*, an elderly Afro-Argentinian woman was quoted as remembering a point in time when whites began to appropriate the Blacks' cultural heritage:

En 1870, antes de la peste grande, los mozos bien comenzaron a vestirse de morenos, imitando nuestro modo de hablar, y los compadritos imitaron la milonga, hecha sobre la música nuestra, y ya no tuvimos más remedio que encerrarnos en nuestras casas, porque éramos pobres y nos daba vergüenza. (qtd. in Gobello *Breve historia* 13)

³⁵ In this usage, a dance hall. See glossary.

José Gobello asserts that the woman's reference to *la milonga*, and *música nuestra*, was actually indicating the dance and music of tango, a word that had been used from at least the beginning of the nineteenth century to refer to the music and dance of the African slave community (Ayestarán 68).³⁶

Although apparently confusing or contradictory, this information is relevant in that it supports both the theory of African cultural contributions to the musical genre of tango and African linguistic contributions to *lunfardo*, such as the words *candombe*, *canyengue*,³⁷ and *milonga*, all intrinsically linked with tango, as well as the word tango itself (Conde *Lunfardo* 209-16). Tango in its musical, dance, and linguistic forms may have evolved into something completely different from the so-called "Black people's tango" by which it manifested itself in the early 1800s, but it is clear that at one point it was recognized as a Black cultural tradition that was eventually appropriated by the general River Plate population:

The blacks of the Río de la Plata stood out as musicians and dancers throughout the nineteenth century, attracting white spectators and becoming the object of routine imitation by whites. For about half a century before 1900, the word *tango* denoted not a step or a rhythm at all, but a mood, an attitude, an intention. To tango meant to dance black, whether in the spasmodic caperings of white *candomberos* or in the Afro-Argentine renderings of the standard ballroom repertoire performed tongue-in-cheek at a private dance. Cut-and-break³⁸ choreography also had a heavy dose of posturing and attitude. (Chasteen 66)

In spite of the almost complete devastation of Afro-descendants in the River Plate zone by the last half of the nineteenth century, Blacks still inhabited the rural areas. Whether freed or escaped slaves, many had adopted the lifestyle of the *gaucho* as itinerant workers in the interior of Argentina and Uruguay while others worked or

³⁶ See also Gesualdo (907) and Benzecry Sabá (*Quest* 16). Benzecry Sabá states: "...in 1806 we find the first reference to the word [tango] in Argentina, in documents [...] presented to the Viceroy Rafael de Sobremonte, Marquis of Sobremonte, complaining about 'the Black people's tango.' He would eventually prohibit the dance by official decree on both sides of the Río de la Plata, including Montevideo."

³⁷ See glossary.

³⁸ I.e. *corte y quebrada*.

congregated in the *pulperías* as *payadores* (Poosson 93). A longstanding musical tradition among *gauchos* was the *payada*, defined by Poosson here:

The *payada* is a form of art that involves the spontaneous singing of poetic verses accompanied by guitar. The *payador*, singer of the *payada*, improvises his lyrics and usually is accompanied by just a guitar or other chord instrument. This form of song has been linked to the *gaucho*, the wandering cowboy of the Argentine pampas, hence the name of gauchesque poetry by which the *payada* is also known. (93)

Poosson presents the contributions of Afro-descendant *payadores* to this rich tradition (87-99), while Bockelman clearly establishes the link between *gaucho* and tango ("Between" 577-601). In the next section, I will show the connection between Blacks, *gauchos*, and rural and urban *payadores*, and how their traditions may have contributed to the development of tango, particularly with respect to the lyrics.

2.4 Gauchos and Payadores

The *gaucho* is an archetypal Argentinian figure: formerly a symbol of the barbarism that post-independence leaders sought to quell, and in modern times a symbol of national identity of all that is durable, natural, and good (Archetti "Masculinity" 216; Plesch 338). Two aspects of *gaucho* culture have relevance to tango lyrics and this study: the *gaucho's* linguistic and poetical skill as a *payador* and his eventual metamorphosis into the iconic male *compadrito* figure of tango. The following summary of the history of the *gaucho* in the River Plate zone will build toward illustrating these factors.

During the colonial period, from approximately 1580 onwards, a conglomeration of people comprised of escaped slaves, mestizo militia deserters, and other marginalized individuals came to be known as *gente perdida*, who populated the areas outside of the major cities and lived an outlaw existence, stealing cattle and horses and living off the land (Rock 25, 38). By the eighteenth century they were known primarily as *vagos*, but also as *changadores*, or *guarderíos*, and eventually came to be known as *gauchos*; a mix of indigenous, Spanish, and African men. They wore

bombachas [baggy trousers], woven ponchos, and were armed with a *facón* [knife] and *boleadoras* [throwing weapon]; they were as distinctive in their nature and appearance as the *compadrito* would later become in the streets of Buenos Aires and Montevideo (47-48). The women who accompanied the *gaucho* in life were known as *chinas*, a term that initially signified a woman of indigenous heritage, later becoming synonymous with a war-time camp follower (Rossi 102; RAE *DLE*) and finally becoming an affectionate term connoting a man's sweetheart used in tango lyrics.

Throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century and continuing through the beginning of the nineteenth, the Argentinian government tried in vain to control the *vagos* by various means. In 1776 Pedro de Cevallos captured and impressed into military service approximately 1500 men (Rock 66) and in 1823 Bernardino Rivadavia enacted a law that required servants to carry papers signed by the *estancieros* [ranch owners], identifying them as workers—the penalty for non-compliance was five years' service in the militia—however these measures were largely ineffective (Plesch 338; Rock 99). In the turmoil following independence of both Argentina and Uruguay a hierarchy of warlords, or *caudillos*, emerged in the provinces (Lavrin 41): a group of “upwardly mobile former militiamen with strong roots in the countryside, from which they gathered their retinues of slaves, peons, and *vagos*, or *gauchos* as they were now known” (Rock 95). Among them were General Juan Manuel de Rosas and Juan Facundo Quiroga (Brown 98-132), the latter the eponymous subject of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's famed work, *Facundo, civilización y barbarie*. As discussed in the section on Afro-descendants, the *gauchos* were likewise conscripted into military service, channeled into the war force of those *caudillos* that controlled the country. This *caudillo/gaucho* relationship would subsequently transform into the *caudillo/guapo* pairing in the urban setting, the *guapo* giving way to the degenerate *compadrito* in tango lyrics first appearing in the 1890s (Gobello *Aproximación* 133).

The *gaucho* epitomized all that was barbarous for Sarmiento, who, in spite of admiring his technical skills, reviled him as the “Gaucho Malo” in *Facundo* (Sarmiento

53-55).³⁹ Over seventy years later, however, for Leopoldo Lugones “el *gaucho* fue el héroe y el civilizador de la Pampa” (L. Lugones 19). This transition from reviled criminal to admired folk hero was made possible, to a large degree, by José Hernández’ Argentinian epic two-part poem, *El gaucho Martín Fierro* and *La vuelta de Martín Fierro*, which were published in 1872 and 1879, respectively (Hernández).⁴⁰ The poems relate the story of the eponymous hero; however what is of interest to this research is the presentation of another *gaucho* folk tradition from the River Plate: the *payada* and its manifestation in the *contrapunto*.⁴¹

While certainly some of the most noted examples of *payadas* are to be found in Hernández’ work, particularly in the *contrapunto* between Martín Fierro and El Negro in *La vuelta de Martín Fierro* (197-215), these are obviously not the earliest instances of this genre. Among the first recognized *payador* poets from Argentina were Símon Méndez, also known as Guasquita, who was a soldier who fought against the British invasions in 1806-1807 (Seibel)⁴² and Santos Vega (1755-1825) (Archetti “Masculinity” 216; Bockelman “Between” 584). Also legendary was the famed Uruguayan poet, Bartolomé Hidalgo (1788-1822) considered in Uruguay to be the progenitor of gauchesque literature (“24 de agosto”; “Biografía”); as well as Joaquín Lenzina (1760-1860), also known as “Ansina, el payador de Artigas” (Solomianski 113).

As explained previously, a *payada* was a poetic verse that was improvised and sung to the accompaniment of the guitar, typically in quatrains or sestets, in meter ranging from pentasyllabic to octosyllabic,⁴³ the latter predominating (L. Lugones 59). Or as Rossi described it more poetically: “La payada es la poesía espontánea de los paisanos rioplatenses; es el alma en los labios por expresión innata. No se escribe; se

³⁹ E.g. “... éste es un tipo de ciertas localidades, un *outlaw*, un *squatter*, un misántropo particular” (Sarmiento 53) and “Este hombre divorciado de la sociedad, proscrito por las leyes; este salvaje de color blanco...” (54).

⁴⁰ For excellent discussions of this transformation of the *gaucho* into a national icon, see Archetti (“Masculinity”) and Bockelman (“Between”).

⁴¹ The *contrapunto* was a musical duel between *payadores*, in which each performer improvised a *payada* on a given theme, attempting to outdo the other (Bockelman “Between” 592-93).

⁴² Unfortunately, there does not appear to be any more precise information about him; he is often referred to as being “anonymous.”

⁴³ This is similar to the Spanish *romance*; this connection will be addressed in chapter three.

siente” (Rossi 114). The improvisational nature of the *payada* rendered the words, rather than the music, the crucial elements that would reveal the *payador*’s skill in the *contrapunto* (Rossi 120).

The topics of the early *payadas* were understandably rural, having to do with the vicissitudes of life on the pampas, but also reflecting important events of the times:

El cantor anda de pago en pago, ‘de tapera en galpón’, cantando sus héroes de la pampa perseguidos por la justicia, los llantos de la viuda a quien los indios robaron sus hijos en un malón reciente, la derrota y la muerte de valiente Rauch, la catástrofe de Facundo Quiroga y la suerte que cupo a Santos Pérez. (Sarmiento 55-56)

This point becomes critical given the eventual migration of the *gaucho* to the city and the evolution of *payada* themes shifting from rural to urban (Bockelman “Between” 593) coinciding with perceptions of the rural environment shifting from barbaric to idyllic (Ulla 24), while those of urban spaces shift from civilized to decadent (Dalbosco “La construcción” 36).

The *gaucho*’s nomadic way of life was already in jeopardy by the time *Facundo* was written, and steadily declining by the publication of *Martín Fierro* (Collier “Popular” 94). The wars and the practice of conscription discussed earlier compelled the *gauchos* to subservience, but it was another process of modernization that ultimately drove the *gaucho* from the countryside and relegated him to the margins of civilized society: the enclosure of the pampas by fencing. The first fences on cattle lands were erected in 1845, the same year as the publication of *Facundo* (Slatta 141). As their nomadic lifestyle and employment opportunities became thus inhibited, and as conscription removed them to the frontlines (Slatta 128), the *gaucho* had little choice but to find his way to the city, where he took on jobs in the slaughterhouses at the ports or other manual labor positions such as that of *cuarteador* [teamster]. Although the traditional work of the *gaucho* was not practiced within the confines of the city *per se*, nevertheless he remains an important figure in the historical context of

tango, not only in his own right but insofar as his role evolved into that of either the *guapo* or tango's most iconic male character, the *compadrito* (Collier "Popular" 94-95). A *gaucho* who was able not only to survive the cutthroat environments of Buenos Aires and Montevideo, but also to gain the respect of other men could earn himself the title of *guapo*. On the other hand, a *gaucho* who failed to achieve this, yet still attempted to imitate those more powerful than he, became the disrespected and mocked *compadrito* (Collier "Popular" 95; Benzecry Sabá *Quest* 36). It should be stated that the figure of the *compadrito* was established in Buenos Aires by at least the mid-nineteenth century, based on the fact that the first apparent literary reference to the *compadrito* may, indeed, have been in Sarmiento's *Facundo* from 1845, and there is another reference in Tomás Guitiérrez's novella *La maldición* from 1859 (Salas 70; Sarmiento 48-49). I have executed searches in both Brigham Young University's Corpus del Español and the CORDE and have not found earlier usage of this term for this denotation (Davies; RAE "CORDE").⁴⁴

Meanwhile, in locales such as the *pulperías* and the barracks on the outskirts of the cities, a subtle metamorphosis was occurring: a cultural bifurcation in which themes in *payadas* performed by Afro-descendant *gauchos* in particular were transitioning from rural to urban at the same time as the mestizo/criollo *payada* tradition was diversifying to include a dance and musical form that would become the *milonga* (Rossi 115; Salas 25). Addressing the second phenomenon first, Vicente Rossi describes the distinction between *payada* and *milonga* practitioners:

En la banda oriental del Plata se llamaron "milongas" a las reuniones de los aficionados a pagar en los suburbios ciudadanos, dispensándoles en consecuencia el título de "milongueros", porque se reservaba el de "payadores" para los genuinos improvisadores camperos, por quienes el pueblo tenía sincera admiración y respeto. (Rossi 115)

⁴⁴ As will be explained in chapter four, section 4.2.2, although *compadrito* is the diminutive form of *compadre*, it should be noted that in *lunfardo* these two terms have distinct meanings.

According to Thompson (80, 120-21), the word *milonga* is derived from two principal African linguistic sources: from the Kimbundo language meaning “words, argument, issue” and the Kikongo meaning “moving lines of dancers.” Exactly how that term came to be applied to this new urban genre may never be known, but what is implied is that by the 1860s the Afro-descendant *payadores* who had moved into the urban areas were instrumental in creating this divergent form of song, also composed predominantly in octosyllabic quatrains (Thompson 120-22). Again, Rossi compares the two genres, *payada* and *milonga*:

La milonga es la payada pueblera. Son versos octosílabos, que se recitan con cierta tonada no desagradable matizada con intervenciones adecuadas de guitarra, llenando los compases de espera entre una estrofa y otra un punteado característico de tres tonos, mientras el milonguero resuella o respira. Es canto cuando se recitan improvisaciones conservadas en la memoria popular; es payada cuando se improvisa. La clásica de los payadores solía ser de seis versos; la de los milongueros, de cuatro. (Rossi 115)

In spite of these distinctions, Rossi (120) also indicates that the terms *milonguear*, *cantar*, and *payar* were essentially interchangeable in both Buenos Aires and Montevideo. Additionally, by the 1870s, as evidenced in part by its mention in *Martín Fierro* (Hernández 42, 64), the term *milonga* had come to signify a location where singing and dancing took place, particularly dancing that involved *cortes y quebradas*;⁴⁵ meanwhile Gobello (*Breve historia* 13) states that by this same period the terms *milonga* and tango enjoyed a similar reciprocity.

Another consequence of the *gaucho* migration to the urban centers of the River Plate was the subtle shift in the themes presented by *payadores* as they engaged in *contrapuntos*, and these transmutations can be traced less ambiguously to the

⁴⁵ Selles disputes the notion that tango evolved from the *habanera*, *candombe*, or the *milonga*, arguing that had that been the case it would have been denominated as *habanera*, etc. rather than tango. He further contends that tango did not develop out of the *milonga*, but rather that this latter form influenced the tango once it had become established (Selles 42). I would agree that *milonga* and tango music and dance developed along two divergent lines, however it is evident these lines are inextricably interrelated.

development of tango lyrics, as will be detailed in chapter three. By the end of the 1800s, many of the most celebrated *payadores* were Afro-Argentines and Afro-Uruguayans such as Gabino Ezeiza (1858-1916), Antonio Caguino (1881-1955), Celestino Dorrego,⁴⁶ and Federico Curlando (1878-1917) (Poosson 95) and these Afro-descendant performers were shaping the thematic structure of the *payada* to portray urban settings.

In researching the Lehmann-Nitsche archive of Argentinean songbooks dating from the 1880s to the 1920s,⁴⁷ Bockelman noted a significant pattern in the song texts: in the principal date range of 1895-1915, the *payadores'* "songs about *gauchos* and the countryside predominate over those about the city" ("Between" 584). In fact, for a substantial period of time from the beginnings of the migration to urban centers in the middle of the nineteenth century until the second decade of the twentieth, the *gaucho payador* maintained his connection to his rural heritage, improvising verses upon traditional themes dealing with life and hardship on the pampas ("Between" 592-93); indeed, Gabino Ezeiza, an admirer of Hernández and *Martín Fierro*, popularized and promoted rural themes (Salvatore 75). Nevertheless, the new, urban *payadores* donned modern garb and differed from their rural counterparts in literacy and innovation (Bockelman "Between" 585), and gradually integrated themes from urban life into their repertoires; moreover, Ezeiza often turned his skill in the *payada* duel to political ends, defending the position of Afro-Argentines and Afro-Uruguayans in a society that was increasingly relegating them to the margins (Poosson 96).⁴⁸ As the

⁴⁶ No dates available.

⁴⁷ This refers to an archive of *payador* songbooks collected by Robert Lehmann-Nitsche and now found in the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut in Berlin (Bockelman "Between" 583). Later in the thesis I will be referring to Lehmann-Nitsche's seminal work on River Plate culture: *Textos eróticos del Río de La Plata: ensayo lingüístico sobre textos sicalípticos de las regiones del plata en español popular y lunfardo recogidos, clasificados y analizados por el autor* (Lehmann-Nitsche).

⁴⁸ Bockelman elaborates: "When the earliest tango songs were beginning to appear in the Lehmann-Nitsche collection at the end of the nineteenth century, urban-themed songbooks amounted to only about 10 percent of the datable total, compared to more than 30 percent on rural gauchesque subjects. Yet a decade later, city songs had nearly caught up, reaching 22.5 percent by 1910. Booklets containing tangos likewise increased, eventually making up about 15 percent of all datable songbooks between 1911 and 1915" ("Between" 585). NB: Bockelman does not specify the themes of the remaining 60 percent of songs.

new (twentieth) century began, however, singer-songwriters from other performance traditions, including *milongas*, *sainetes* [theatrical works from Spain in one or more acts, often comical, featuring popular settings and characters], and *zarzuelas* [dramatic, musical plays from Spain, with spoken and sung dialogue, similar to an operetta] began to impose their own style on the “traditional” rural-themed *payadas*. Bockelman cites Manuel Cienfante, Ángel Villoldo, José Betinot, Silverio Manco, J. López Franco, and Luis García as the most prominent of these transitional lyricists, and goes on to describe their contributions:

They altered the standard narrative repertoire to include short, image-rich songs among longer *contrapuntos* and *gaucho* tales. They also experimented with a wider variety of song forms, both local and international. To the *décimas*, *gatos*, *cuecas*, *cielitos*, and *vidalitas*⁴⁹ of Argentine folk music, they added urban-tinged *milongas*, *habaneras*, and even tangos. Perhaps most significantly, the younger *payadores* began to open up the thematic focus of popular Argentine song to include the novel experiences of city life alongside the more conventional rural scenes of their predecessors. (“Between” 593)

Appearing within these new urban scenes were male figures who were closely associated with migration to the city suburbs, both from the interior and from abroad, and who would become the dominant protagonists of tango lyrics: the *canfinflero* [pimp], the *compadre*, and the *compadrito*.

Villoldo (1869-1919) proved to be one of the most prolific and most successful of these *payador*-songwriters in the early 1900s (Bockelmann “Between” 593). He and his contemporaries alike were fascinated by the figure of the *canfinflero*, a pimp who controlled and sexually exploited one woman at a time, and many of his lyrics comprise what I have thematically categorized in chapter one as “Personajes,”⁵⁰ in that these do not have a narrative structure in themselves but rather expound on the physical and personality traits of the central figure. In Bockelman’s assessment, the *canfinflero* was seen by the urban *payadores* as the closest to an appropriate rival or

⁴⁹ See glossary for definitions of these musical forms.

⁵⁰ See thematic categorizations of tango lyrics developed in chapter one, section 1.2.

proxy for the *gaucho*, while the *compadre* was considered an upstart and the *compadrito* a figure of utter ridicule, but he also emphasizes that the *payadores* were likely basing such evaluations on perceptions of their own rural traditions (“Between” 596-97), not initially perceiving that the *compadre* and the *compadrito* may have in fact once been displaced *gauchos* themselves. Be that as it may, by the time the *payadores* “began to represent the underbelly of the modern city as a cultural world all its own” (“Between” 598), tango had already achieved status as a genre in its own right. The conflict between the converging groups is captured in the lyric “Duelo criollo” (Gobello *Letras* 139; Romano 142-43) in which a *payador* and a *taura* (i.e. *guapo*) fight to the death for the love of a virtuous *piba*.

2.5 Immigration and Tango

The suburbs of Montevideo and Buenos Aires saw the emergence of yet another purveyor of traditional music in the form of the *cantor orillero*, epitomized by the iconic Carlos Gardel,⁵¹ whose performances provided a crossover from traditional *payada*, also designated *criolla* [creole] music (García Fanlo 22), and the tango. According to Vidart, the *payador* (i.e. *milonguero* musician) is a dynamic artist, creating his art in the process of performing it, while the performance of the *cantor orillero*, although s/he may be rooted in *criollo* tradition, is more static, relying on the vocal or instrumental talent of the performer in rendering music that has already been composed (172-73). This is relevant to the shift from a purely vocal tradition to the fixed media of sheet music and recordings and the development of lyrics. Gardel and other performers of the same style of music capitalized on the popularity of the gauchesque tradition yet were a category unto themselves. In the early part of his career, up until the debut of the tango “Mi noche triste (Lita)” in 1917, Gardel performed songs in the rural musical categories of *estilo*, *cifra*, *trunfo*, *cielito*, *milonga*,

⁵¹ Carlos Gardel was born Charles Romauld Gardes on 11 December 1890 in Toulouse, France to Berthe Gardes and Paul Lasserre. He arrived in Buenos Aires in 1893 and died in an aviation accident in Medellín Colombia in 1935 (Collier *Life* 4-5, 212)

zamba, and *vals criollo*,⁵² often dressed in *gaucho* attire to appeal to the growing nationalist sentiment in Argentina (Archetti “Masculinity” 224, 227). For all that, there was an additional facet of Gardel’s background that aligns him with another integral group in the history of tango: he was an immigrant.

In 1852 Argentinian Juan Bautista Alberdi wrote *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República Argentina*, in which he postulated the concept of “gobernar es poblar,” later enacted into legislation during the period of the 1853 constitution (Nouzeilles and Montaldo 95-101). This was the basis for promoting immigration to Argentina and Uruguay, with the goal of attracting skilled, western and northern European settlers and laborers to promote the economy and stability of the region (Varela 56). However, the unanticipated effect of this legislation was realized in the waves of immigrants from Mediterranean zones such as Spain, France, Italy, Lebanon, and Syria who poured into the region towards the end of the century and who drastically changed the composition of Buenos Aires and Montevideo (Rock 166-67). As the immigrants settled in the suburbs of each city, their presence became essential to the development of tango, primarily as a dance, but also in their linguistic contributions, as will be shown in this section.

Statistics dating from the mid-to-late nineteenth century through the first three decades of the twentieth substantiate that migration to the River Plate zone was indeed massive. Uruguay experienced a much lighter influx, with only 648,000 immigrants arriving between 1836 and 1926 (Pendle 6) as compared to the nearly 2.2 million who settled in Argentina between 1857 and 1890 alone (Rock 132). This was due in large part to the continued political instability of the eastern bank of the River Plate: the Uruguayan government offered inducements to settlers, however the continuing civil strife led many to bypass Uruguay for the relatively more stable Argentina (Pendle 7-8; Vidart 134). Immigrants to the eastern littoral were primarily from Spain and Italy, however there was also a contingent of Lebanese immigrants as well (Pendle 6). Overall, in Uruguay the average annual net immigration between 1879

⁵² See glossary for detailed descriptions of these musical forms.

and 1903 was at most 4000 per year, rising to 15,000 per year between 1900 and 1930 once political conditions solidified and social reforms were implemented in that country (Pendle 8). Regardless, the population in Montevideo in 1872 comprised over 50% immigrants⁵³ (Assunção 48).

Argentina, on the other hand, bore the brunt of the floods of people coming to the region. It is estimated that approximately 5.9 million people immigrated to Argentina between 1871 and 1914, and of these about 3.1 million remained in the country (Rock 141). Furthermore, the population of Buenos Aires alone nearly sextupled between 1854 and 1895, seeing its highest net increase of 220,260 in 1889⁵⁴ (142). The first national census was conducted in 1869, and from this and the subsequent censuses in 1895 and 1914 the increase in population is notable, as shown in Table 1:

Table 1 *Population Increase in Argentina 1869-1914*⁵⁵

<i>Census year</i>	<i>Total population</i>	<i>Total increase</i>	<i>% Increase</i>
1869	1,830,214	—	—
1895	4,044,911	2,214,697	121.0%
1914	7,915,502	3,870,591	95.7%

(INDEC “Primer Censo” 28; “Segundo Censo” 19; “Tercer Censo” 65-66)

As in Uruguay and again, contrary to the aspirations of the ruling elite, approximately 80% of these immigrants were of Mediterranean origin: “50% Italians, 25% Spaniards, others Ottomans, Russians, French, and Portuguese” (Rock 141).⁵⁶

⁵³ These numbers drop deceptively to 40% in 1884 and 17% in 1907, but as Assunção (48) points out, slightly less than half of the “natives” were by those dates first and second generation descendants of immigrants.

⁵⁴ For the complete table of net increase in the city’s population for the periods between the 1869 and 1895 censuses, see Rock (142).

⁵⁵ The figures given in the censuses do not include Argentinians living outside of the country; the figure reported in the 1865 census is 1,877,490, which also includes army personnel stationed in Paraguay (INDEC “Primer Censo” 18). Adjusted figures for 1895, excluding citizens outside of the country, are 3,954,911, which changes the statistic slightly to an increase of 116% (INDEC “Segundo Censo” 35).

⁵⁶ Assunção (49) gives somewhat more specific statistics on the River Plate zone in general, sourced from “Vázquez Presedo, 1971 b. adaptado.” Calculating the averages from his table, between 1871 and 1914 the average percentages of immigrant nationalities are as follows: Italy 55.4%; Spain 24.4; France

The discussion of tango's historical context thus turns inevitably to the city spaces of Buenos Aires and Montevideo, particularly to the surge of inhabitants to the suburbs, where tango allegedly originated. Such a drastic increase in population over a relatively short period of time naturally led to significant changes in the physiognomy and infrastructure of both capitals. For example, in Buenos Aires during the first half of the 1800s the bulk of the population, including both upper and lower classes, was centered around the Plaza de la Victoria (now the Plaza de Mayo). As new arrivals (including *gauchos* and former slaves displaced by the wars, as well as foreign immigrants) flocked to the city, the congestion in the downtown area became dangerously unhealthy (Rock 143). By the 1860s, overcrowding and poor sanitation were serious problems that contributed to the conditions leading to epidemics of cholera and yellow fever (Carretero *Vida* 2 48-62).

The most devastating of these was the yellow fever outbreak of 1871, during which more than 7000 people succumbed to the disease (Rock 143),⁵⁷ primarily the Blacks and other poor or working class people who lived in the southern sections of Buenos Aires. Germane to this study are both the effects on Black cultural expression precipitated by this decimation of the Black population as discussed previously, and the fact that the wealthy, including members of the government, abandoned their centrally located mansions and fled to the northern areas of Buenos Aires, creating new *barrios* such as La Recoleta, Barrio Norte, Palermo, and Belgrano, while the middle class became established in the west, in areas such as Flores (Carretero *Vida* 2 361). Consequently, the southern neighborhoods were relegated to the poor and working classes: La Boca, Barracas, San Telmo, Constitución, Montserrat, Pompeya, and Boedo were all lower-class *barrio* names that would become intrinsically linked with tango, often figuring prominently in the lyrics (Rock 153). "Bajo Belgrano" (Gobello *Letras* 99-100; Romano 106-07), "Barrio de tango" (Gobello *Letras* 234-35;

6.8; United Kingdom 1.6; Austria-Hungary 1.9; Russia & Poland ("including jews"-his qualification; more will be said on this in the section pertaining to women) 4.2; Sino-Lebanese 3.8; Various other nationalities 7.2.

⁵⁷ Gobello gives a death toll of 13,600 people (*Breve historia* 15).

Romano 318-19), “Corrientes y Esmeralda” (Gobello *Letras* 199-200; Romano 249-50), and “Florida de arrabal” (Romano 146-47) are just a few of these.

From 1871 forward, sanitation and modernization became the focus for the Argentinian city that was already embracing rapid transition from “Great Village” to metropolis (Figari, et al. “Tísicas” 128). Between 1870 and 1877 Buenos Aires began projects to modernize the Riachuelo port (Carretero *Vida* 2 23-24), in 1871 horse-drawn trolleys were introduced to reduce street congestion (*Vida* 2 21), facilitating tango’s move to the city center, and between 1880 and 1890 a modern sewage system was installed (Rock 153), to name a few of these efforts. Upon assuming the presidency in 1880, Julio A. Roca declared the revolutionary past “closed once and forever” and announced a new era of “peace and administration” signifying the development of the infrastructure that would convert Buenos Aires into a modern city (Varela 51-52). The Argentinian oligarchy began to model its city after Paris⁵⁸ (Bergero 15), leveling sections, repaving, and creating the parallel avenues of Santa Fe, Córdoba, Corrientes, and the Avenida de Mayo (Rock 144); by 1914 Calle Florida boasted the same elite shops and department stores that could be found in either London or Paris (Bergero 50). These changes in infrastructure created disparities between the muddy suburbs and the structured, cleaner downtown areas that would be represented in lyrics such as “Flor de fango” (Gobello *Letras* 34-35; Romano 32-33) and “Corrientes y Esmeralda.” Later, the 1920s and 1930s saw the greatest push towards modernity in Buenos Aires (Sarlo “Buenos Aires” 13-14) with the last non-electric *farol* [street lamp] in use until 1932 (Carretero *Vida* 3 31). The *farol* would become an iconic symbol associated with tango, appearing in such lyrics as “Farolito viejo” (Romano 122) and “Silbando” (Gobello *Letras* 72-73; Romano 58-59).

⁵⁸ The perpetual *bonaerense* gaze toward Paris would manifest itself later in the myth that tango was not accepted by the elites until it had debuted and triumphed in Paris around 1913. As will be shown in the next chapter, tango was, in fact, highly popular among all classes; as Varela points out, it wasn’t that tango was legitimized by Paris, but rather by the “participación activa de los niños bien en su nacimiento y constitución” (Varela 74). Several tangos refer to Paris or French culture, including “Claudinet” (Gobello *Letras* 229; Romano 290-91), “Griseta,” “La que murió en París” (Gobello *Letras* 178-79; Romano 206-07), and “Madame Ivonne” to name a few.

Similarly for Uruguay, in the 1870s, during the period dating from the government of General Lorenzo Batlle to that of Coronel Lorenzo Latorre, the process of urbanization was comparably rapid. Technological advances such as streetcars, railways, running water, gas, and electricity, converted Montevideo into a flourishing city (Assunção 23). While fear of its political conflicts kept many immigrants from opting to settle in Uruguay rather than Argentina in the early part of the nineteenth century (Pendle 7), regardless their influx was still significant enough to have an impact as the twentieth century began. The centers of both Buenos Aires and Montevideo thus became enticing spaces that attracted those living in the marginalized and impoverished suburbs—tango lyrics such as “Tata llevame p’al centro” (Maroni) attest to this pull. Nevertheless, neither city was fully prepared for the massive floods of newcomers that were pouring into the area.

Hundreds of immigrants were arriving daily, *gauchos* and Blacks who had been displaced from the pampas were settling in outlying areas such as Flores, Mataderos, and Miserere in Buenos Aires and Cerro and Pantanoso in Montevideo (Assunção 26), all neighborhoods later associated with tango. The outskirts of the cities became known as the *orillas* and the general term for the neighborhoods was *arrabal*. The houses abandoned by the rich in the center of Buenos Aires were converted into crowded tenements (Rock 143), while other, similar housing units were constructed in the suburbs: both types of structures becoming the *conventillos* of the working poor and refuge of immigrants, the humble origins of the subjects of many tango lyrics.

The word *conventillo* first appears in the census of 1810 and originally applied to a type of barracks (Carretero *Vida 1* 13). With the extraordinary numbers of people coming into the River Plate region over a relatively brief period of time, the cities found themselves in urgent need of cheap housing to accommodate the masses. Similar in many ways to a barrack, a *conventillo* was a long building with several single habitations, often surrounding a central courtyard, and was the place where many immigrants ultimately found themselves living (Carretero *Vida 2* 83-87). Due to the unhygienic and crowded living conditions, the word *conventillo* came to be a synonym

in the minds of many with “promiscuidad, mugre y falta de privacidad familiar” (Carretero *Vida* 1 37). With the exception of domestic servants, who generally lived in the houses of their employers (Carretero *Vida* 2 343-50), the vast majority of Buenos Aires’ working class lived in *conventillo* housing or similar. The *conventillo*, along with the *barrio*, often serves as a backdrop for the drama that plays out between the genders in tango lyrics.

By 1914, of the male working-class inhabitants of the *conventillos* and *suburbios*, approximately 75% were immigrants, 400,000 in total, comprising approximately 66% of the total male working population in Buenos Aires; 20% of the working population were women and children (Rock 175). The men primarily worked in the ports, railroads, tramways, public services, manufacturing, and meat packing (175), while the women found employment principally as laundresses, seamstresses, ironers, factory workers, wet nurses, and domestic servants (Carretero *Vida* 2 329-49). Even the middle class at this time was largely composed of immigrants: according to Rock (175) “of around 40,000 petty manufacturers and shopkeepers, about 4/5 were foreign born.”

These new people that now made up the majority of the work force also brought new ideas that disturbed the *status quo* safeguarded by the upper classes. Immigrants from Italy and Spain brought anarchism to the fore, appearing first in 1880 in response to economic policies (e.g. the printing of paper money leading to inflation, increasing the national debt) that ultimately led to the crisis of 1890 (Rock 152-61). More immigrants were arriving daily, unemployment increased and wages fell while rents escalated, and the anarchists began to organize trade unions (186-87). The street violence involved in strikes occurring between 1899 and 1910, leading to the Residence Law of 1902 and the Social Defense Law in 1910, which allowed those suspected of anarchist affiliations to be deported (187), further contributed to the middle- and upper-class perceptions that immigrants were troublemakers and delinquents. Indeed, with thousands of newcomers unemployed and stranded, the

conventillos multiplied and many of the cities' derelicts turned to the *bajos fondos*, as the criminal underworld was known.

Ensnared among the lower classes in the *arrabales*—included among the workers, the anarchists, the immigrants, and the poor—were those considered to be a part of *los bajos fondos*, the criminal underworld of Buenos Aires and Montevideo, who were to become the protagonists of many tango lyrics, at least for a time. Between 1900-1909, in Buenos Aires, the police arrested 50,501 criminals: 38% were “native” Argentinians while 62% were immigrants, 31% of whom were of Italian heritage. Arrests during this period were also related to anarchist protests, uprisings, and assaults, again by groups largely comprised of immigrants (Carretero *Vida 2* 286-88). Indeed, by 1879 there was already a strong anti-Italian sentiment in Buenos Aires (D. Castro *Argentine Tango* 16), and this, coupled with the facts that most of the owners of *academias de baile* and *casas de baile* where tango was played and danced were primarily Italian immigrants, and that the police were often called in to break up disturbances at these locales (Lamas and Binda 37-52), it is no small wonder that tango came to be associated with criminality, the criminal class with the immigrants, and each of these leading to the underworld. In this world, systematic robbery and assault were perpetrated by very well organized gangs, each in its own zone, such as the so-called “Tierra del Fuego.”⁵⁹ Here, the nightlife was a mixture of *niños bien*, *tangueros*, and ordinary people, and thus criminals were able to blend in and disguise their activity (Carretero *Vida 2* 287).⁶⁰

However, while the *suburbio* was generally associated in the minds of many of the elite with these dangerous elements of the population, and hence those criminal perpetrators aligned with the nefarious figures of tango such as the *guapo* and the *compadrito*, this is not to say that the *orillas* were populated solely by delinquents:

⁵⁹ “Nombre que se le daba a fines del 1800 a un barrio de mala fama del arrabal porteño que se extendía desde la actual avenida Las Heras entre Salguero y Pueyrredón en dirección al Río de la Plata” (Espíndola 469). See also Borges (*Obras* 165).

⁶⁰ Another such zone was called “De los Caños,” in Recoleta (Buenos Aires), so named due to the practice of the vagrants in the area taking refuge from the cold and the police in large pipes (Carretero *Vida 2* 287).

hard-working immigrants, men and women alike, worked, played, and loved alongside *criollos* and *criollas* in this “tierra de nadie [...] y de todos” (Vidart 40-41). It is out of the heterogeneous environment in which this new, burgeoning community sought to create its own identity and from which the amalgamation of various elements began to unite to create the tango. Music, lyrical traditions, and dance—deriving from *candombe*, *comparsa*, *milonga*, *contradanza*, *habanera*, *tango andaluz*, *payada*, creole music (such as the *estilo*, *zamba*, *vals criollo*, etc. referred to previously), and European dances— all left their mark on tango.

Tango came into existence initially as music and dance, the lyrics being incidental until after the 1900s (Vidart 17); without the influence of the diverse cultures that converged on the region it would not be what it is today, therefore a brief look at the theories of the dance’s musical origins is essential to our understanding of the genre. According to Selles (18), one African rhythm upon which tango may have been based could be found in the Iberian peninsula as early as the thirteenth century, particularly in some of the *cantigas* of Alfonso X El Sabio; that rhythm⁶¹ ostensibly having been brought to the Iberian peninsula from Africa between the eighth and fifteenth centuries. As has been discussed previously, the music and rhythm of the *candombe* represent another branch of the possible African contribution to the genre. Later, in Europe, dances involving couples of men and women moving separately in various line formations developed between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. These were initially known as “country dances” in England, subsequently as *contradanse* in France, and finally became the *contradanza* in Spain (Benzecry Sabá *Quest* 13). Benzecry Sabá traces the *contradanza*’s first appearance in the Americas to New Orleans, where the French and Spanish were establishing trade routes, eventually travelling to English-held Jamaica, French Haiti (*Quest* 13), and finally, Selles asserts that the *contradanza tanguada* arrived in Spanish Cuba in 1793 (21). Thereafter the *contradanza* became known simply as *danza*, which then evolved into another form of dance and music known as the *habanera* (Benzecry Sabá *Quest*

⁶¹ For the notation of this and the fundamental underlying tango rhythm see Selles (13-19).

14). By 1810-11, the *habanera* had evolved yet again and traveled back to Cádiz, now in the musical form of the *tango andaluz* (Selles 21).

Concurrent with the development of the *contradanse* in Europe (i.e. fifteenth to eighteenth centuries), but among the lower classes, dances were emerging in which the dancing couple embraced. Various *contradanses* in Bavaria, in combination with the *ländler* from southern Germany and Austria and the *volte* from Tyrol in Austria would become the polka and the waltz, which were initially considered to be scandalously lascivious dances (Benzecry Sabá *Quest* 14-15). Ultimately popularized and accepted by the upper classes by the early 1800s, the waltz, in particular, along with the polka, mazurka and other dances incorporating this new embracing position, swiftly emigrated across the world, propagated by the elites in their salons, sailors in the ports, and immigrants in the *conventillos* and dance halls (Benzecry Sabá *Quest* 38; Lamas and Binda 37-51, 130-63). In addition to the aforementioned dances, the quadrille, habanera, varsovienne, redowa, galop, schottische, Andalusian tango, and lancers quadrille were among the other European dances that arrived between 1820 and 1850 to the region (Benzecry Sabá *Quest* 15, 27-30⁶²).

By the 1870s, as the waves of immigrants began arriving in greater numbers, these dances had long been established in western culture; the Italians, Spaniards, French, Russians, Poles, and other foreigners brought their own instruments and implemented their own interpretations of the music and rhythms of Buenos Aires and Montevideo. The *conventillos* with their holiday and wedding dances (Salas 86-87), the *academias* and *casas de baile* in the *arrabales*, the *casas de tolerancia* [brothels], and the *carnavales* became melting pots for the hybridization of this unique music and dance form (Carretero *Vida* 2 157; Lamas and Binda ch. II-IX); tango's alleged connections with brothels will be discussed in the next section. It is this hybridization that disturbed the ruling classes and caused many to deprecate any dance deemed to incorporate *cortes y quebradas*, whether tango, *milonga*, or whatever tango's principal precursors might have been. As late as 1880, Benigno B. Lugones' article in the

⁶² Details of these dances, their alternative names and forms, and dates may be found on these pages.

newspaper *La Nación* was still decrying *any* of the embraced dances as “unhygienic,” clearly implying a distinction between the social classes:

La cuadrilla, los lanceros, la contradanza, el minué, y en general, todo baile en que las parejas no se abracen, puede aceptarse como higiénicos, siempre que sea ejecutado al aire libre como en las aldeas de Europa ó en salas bien ventiladas. Pero la polka, la mazurka, el wals, y algunas otras piezas que están proscritas de los salones de buen tono (habanera, schottische, danza) son abominales en el más alto grado. (“El Baile” 1)

In the view of the ruling elite, the so-called “lascivious” embraced dances belonged to a heterogeneous group of people whom the upper classes could not reconcile to their goals of a homogenous national identity (Varela 56), and therefore they purportedly rejected them. Varela asserts that as Italians comprised the largest group of immigrants, Italians were the most reviled and came to be identified closely with tango: “Entonces, el rechazo del tango se reúne con la hostilidad hacia los italianos al ser considerado un híbrido musical derivado de una inmigración indeseada” (56). In spite of this rejection, elite youth took advantage of the impunity their social standing gave them to penetrate the world of the suburbs and mix with the “undesirable” immigrants as they sought licentious entertainment (Lamas and Binda 47; Varela 72-73). These *niños bien* were represented by the *bacanes* or *otarios* [fools] of tango lyrics: the rich men who lured the *compadrito’s* lover away from him or the fools that the *milongueta* played for their wealth.⁶³

The spaces where tango was danced often also blurred the lines of social boundaries. In addition to the early *milongas* of the displaced *gauchos*, *academias de baile* appeared in Argentina as early as 1826, and at that time were, in fact, schools for dance training, which would have been frequented by the middle- to upper-class patrons who had the financial means to do so (Lamas and Binda 22-23). Between the 1830s and the 1850s, the *academias de baile* evolved into something more akin to a dance hall, and became synonymous with the *casas de baile*, locales that began to be

⁶³ The *niños bien* will be explored more fully in the next section.

seen as problematic since the police were often called in to control disturbances (Lamas and Binda 25). Again, the question of ethnic origin came in to play as how these spaces were viewed: “Algunas eran propiedad de morenas y las más de italianos; se bebía y danzaba, habiendo excesos de violencia” (37). However, by the 1860s dance venues owned or run by Blacks were either disappearing or fading further into the margins, to be replaced by the largely Italian-owned *peringundines* [dance halls].

Finally, one of the most notable aspects of a foreigner that sets him or her apart in an alien milieu is language. Whereas the immigrants’ chief contribution to tango may have been inadvertently creating the setting for tango’s incubation and genesis in the *conventillos* and *peringundines* of the suburbs, additionally their lexical contributions to Argentinian and Uruguayan Spanish have given tango its rich and unique linguistic characteristics, namely in the use of *lunfardo* in the lyrics. Details of *lunfardo*’s origin and constitution will be given in chapter three, however suffice it to say that many terms that became incorporated in *lunfardo* owe their origins to the myriad immigrants on both sides of the river.

2.6 Women and Men in the Tango Milieu

Immigration also brought what the region’s leaders viewed as an advantageous influx of women to the zone, although it failed to result in either their desired goal of fomenting traditional marriage and family structures or to equalize the genders in terms of quantity (Masiello 112). The *Primer censo de la República Argentina* indicates that in 1869, males outnumbered females by a difference of 52,208 more men than women in the entire country (INDEC “Primer Censo” 27-28).⁶⁴ Notably, native-born Argentinian females outnumbered native-born males by 39,774, and this was attributed largely to the wars (“Primer Censo” 28); whereas foreign males numbered 151,987 over 60,005 foreign women, a difference of 91,982. This trend continued over time through the early twentieth century: the censuses of 1895 and of 1914 indicate greater numbers of men than women in Argentina, with the greatest difference

⁶⁴ 897,780 males versus 845,572 females.

occurring in male immigrants versus female⁶⁵ (INDEC “Primer Censo” 27-28; “Segundo Censo” 35; “Tercer Censo” 202-04).

The lower numbers of immigrant women might underline what Guy (7) asserts was a strong disapproval in Europe of women traveling alone for fear of them becoming enslaved in the sex trade. However, in spite of the disparity in numbers, the arrival of such a large quantity of women to the region, many of whom entered the work force and either eschewed or were unable to attain a traditional marriage,⁶⁶ meant the emergence of, as Varela states, “un nuevo modelo de familia.” Without explicitly delineating what this “nuevo modelo” is, Varela implies that the distinction lies in the newly created female work force as contrasted to the traditional position of the woman as the “sacerdotisa del hogar” (103). He further goes on to say that the concept of the traditional family as the basis for society was a persistent theme in the political discourse of the day, citing the Civil Marriage Law (1889), Residence Law (1902), and the National Labor Law (1904) as examples (103). Indeed, the earlier Civil Code of 1869 subjugated women to the authority of their husbands: Article 55 declared the relative incapacity of women and Article 57 decreed that the husband had authority over all aspects of a woman’s life (Barrancos 101). This included her right to choose to pursue education, employment, or start a business, as well as proprietary control over her worldly goods, including anything she owned prior to the marriage (Barrancos 102). Guy looks at the purposes of similar legislation in the 1871 civil code and affirms that it defined these ideals:

⁶⁵ These statistics are primarily used to support the tango theory that men originally danced with other men due to the shortage of women, however Vidart asserts that this was done merely for practice and not socially in lieu of a female partner (27). Based on his analysis of archival photos of men dancing together dating from the early twentieth century, Thompson posits the theory that not only were men simply practicing their dance, but that they adopted the stiff-armed pose with the gaze straight ahead that is now considered a parody of tango in order to avoid eye contact with their male partners (221).

⁶⁶ See Ben, “Male Sexuality, the Popular Classes and the State: Buenos Aires, 1880-1955.” He states that plebeian practice did not always include traditional matrimony: “evidence suggests that family life was unusual” (Ben 72), and suggests that culture, including the “gender segregated spaces of sociability” (77) contributed to men and women not contracting marriage in spite of the apparently favorable demographics for women.

[...] the role of a good woman was to marry and bear future generations. Mothers and children in turn were to obey the male patriarch who would select their occupations, thereby linking the family to class and ultimately, through birth, to the nation. (Guy 3)

It wasn't until 1924 that significant reforms began to be made to the Código Civil, such as finally allowing women to seek education, become businesswomen, or give court testimony, and giving them proprietary control over their pre-marital assets, to name a few gains (Barrancos 137-39).

While the governing bodies initially sought to promote women's presence and participation in society for the benefit of nation-building, in that they saw women and domestic order represented by the nuclear family as emblematic of national prosperity (Masiello 18), it became evident that the sheer numbers of women who fell outside of this ideal made it impossible for all of them to fit into this scheme.⁶⁷ Furthermore, in spite of the fact that writers such as Francisco Dávila attempted to paint an idealized portrait of a modern Buenos Aires whose economy was supported by industrious working-class females (Dávila 152-56), in general women were viewed in a much more positive light if they fulfilled their prescribed roles as wives and mothers, regardless of social class, while a negative view was taken of the working woman (Varela 103). This view included the attitude that "working outside the home was regarded as jeopardising women's morals" (Lavrin 88). One of the predominant female motifs in tango is that of the *milonguita* who has abandoned her life of labor in the *conventillo*; just as the factory worker, *costurera*, or prostitute did not conform to the feminine ideal of wife and mother, the *milonguita* of the lyrics conformed to neither society's traditionalist image of wife and mother nor the modernist ideal presented by Dávila of the industrious, yet innocent female laborer.

⁶⁷ Carretero lists that at the 1869 Census there were: 18,521 women in various labor positions, plus 61,424 widows, 247,602 single women, and 25,000 female orphans, for a total of 334,626 in Buenos Aires alone. The majority of the women told the census that they worked as "*costureras, lavanderas, planchadoras, cigareras, amasadoras, etcetera*"; all of these occupations were considered to be "gateway" jobs to prostitution due to their low pay and harsh working conditions (*Prostitución* 20-21).

The erstwhile tradition of family-arranged marriages was no longer the norm by the late nineteenth century, nevertheless marriage, while being viewed as the ultimate goal for all women, regulated by patriarchal laws, was still the particular focus of wealthy young women in terms of the status they might achieve by this means (Carretero *Vida* 2 223).⁶⁸ To reiterate, they were expected to maintain their husband's household and to raise his children, and their presence and status in society could be felt mainly through works with charitable associations such as La Sociedad de Beneficencia (Sacchetti 92). La Sociedad de Beneficencia oversaw organizations and public institutions concerned with women's welfare, which were designed with the purposes of providing aid to lower-class women and presenting them with models for correct behavior based on that of the upper-class women (92). Essentially, elite women, whose limited visibility in society was through their charitable works, were faced with the task of trying to contain the increasingly visible female workforce. And although the work of the Sociedad was not supported by tangible government action, as the century advanced, women from the upper classes joined the growing global feminist movement, advocating for women's rights (103-05). By 1908 labor laws concerning women included such provisions as limited work hours, Sundays off, breaks for nursing, and maternity leave, however as there was no government oversight compliance was nearly impossible to enforce (101). By the early twentieth century women were well established in the work force; while elite women who represented the government's ideal of a private, domestic life (Barrancos 94) were championing for female rights, working women were emerging from the private spaces of the home and entering the public spaces of the factories and the city (Varela 104). According to Varela, the ensuing conflict between the traditional, patriarchal structure and economic necessity and the relative emancipation of women was reflected in the stories of abandonment in tango lyrics. He states:

⁶⁸ It was often their only form of social mobility: "Se ha dicho que [...] la mujer porteña tenía tres oportunidades para trasponer el umbral de su casa: cuando la llevaban a la iglesia para el bautismo, cuando se casaba y cuando la trasladaban al cementario." (Carretero *Vida* 2 223)

[...] la configuración de la moral femenina que elabora en sus letras da cuenta de un mismo desvelo en el tango y en los discursos de la época: la alteración de los lazos familiares producto de un nuevo orden económico que requiere de la mujer como parte del proceso productivo. (Varela 108)

Many tango lyrics relate how women deserted men for one reason or another,⁶⁹ however, according to Carretero at least among the elite classes historically there were very few cases of formal divorce or annulment during the period of tango's conception and birth (mid-to-late nineteenth century through early twentieth century), including due to reasons such as unconsummated marriages or homosexuality (*Vida* 2 248). Likewise, there are few public records attesting to female marital infidelity being the cause of divorce. Divorces sought by women comprised more than 90% of all cases, probable causes of which were: abandonment of the home (by the man), lack of attention to economic necessities, child abuse, spousal abuse, alcoholism, or infidelity (*Vida* 2 248).

Carretero relates that a witness of the time, Argentinian author Federico Tobal, maintained that male infidelity was common in the upper classes, particularly among elite men who traveled frequently to Europe. According to Tobal, the man would bring his current mistress along with him, and gave as an example the politician Benito Villanueva, who kept women on the ship making the crossing inasmuch as he would keep a stock of French wine or London suits (*Vida* 2 248). This speaks to the patriarchal double standard that enabled policies in which “se articula contrato político y contrato sexual haciendo libres a los varones e invisibilizando la sujeción de las mujeres, transformadas en políticamente irrelevantes” (Sacchetti 89). Ben highlights the relative “weakness of family life among the popular classes” which led to representations of plebian male sexuality as attempts to have “multiple sexual relationships with any available sexual outlet” (Ben 72). Although Argentinian anarchist literature discussed

⁶⁹ Even before the debut of “Mi noche triste (Lita)” in 1917, other lyrics such as “De vuelta al bulín” (Gobello *Letras* 30-31), “Ivette” (Gobello *Letras* 35-36; Romano 40-42), and “El motivo (Pobre paica)” (Gobello *Letras* 37-38; Romano 37-38) developed the theme of males abandoned by females. This leitmotif has pervaded tango, and songs of romantic abandonment comprise a significant portion of the lyric corpus to be studied in this research. Naturally, there are too many to be listed here.

equal sexual freedom for women, this was nevertheless couched in terms of female fidelity to one male partner (Lavrin 129). The relative sexual freedom of men as opposed to societal restraints on women was exemplified by the vilification of the unfaithful woman in many lyrics such as “Ivette,” “La he visto con otro” (Gobello *Letras* 106-7; Romano 92-93), “Mano a mano,” and “Pinta brava” (Romano 79-80), to name only a very few.

Divorce was mainly confined to the upper classes as the financial costs for a trial were beyond middle- and lower-class financial capacities, or their moral values prevented them from such a public act; usually a couple merely separated “de hecho.” From data given in the censuses of 1904, 1909, and 1914, there is very little information regarding common-law marriages (cohabitation) or single mothers; Carretero interprets this to mean that *separación de hecho* was far more widely accepted than legal divorce, which was a long, tedious, expensive, and shameful process (*Vida* 2 248). Many tango lyrics appear to refer to cohabitation, i.e. “De vuelta al bulín” but not necessarily to legally sanctioned matrimony, let alone divorce. It is impossible to tell what the conditions described in the lyrics were exactly like, but judging from the above information it could be surmised that tango relationships were not necessarily of the type that was sanctioned by mainstream society. While women in the upper classes were finding their voices in writing⁷⁰ and activism, women in the lower classes were relegated to the most menial labor in order to survive; they had little time or energy to concern themselves with the propriety of their non-traditional families. Furthermore they were perceived as a threat to national stability. Thus, as Masiello goes on to state:

[...] in a nation concerned about maintaining racial purity through a line of legitimate heirs, the situation of unassimilated women presented a problem. Put another way, the stability previously assured through marriage was deemed, in sociological terms, to be on the verge of extinction, with the unwed woman providing further evidence of a weakening of the national family. (111)

⁷⁰ See Figari, et al., MacIntyre, and Szurmuk.

Indeed, in 1920 Storni commented on this “*crisis de la familia*” as an inevitable consequence of the “*renovación indefinida*” of the human condition, laying the blame for the collapse of the family unit on Argentinian society’s failure to adapt to evolving conditions (Storni “Existe” 949-52).

Given these circumstances, as men were therefore unable to view these women as representative of nationhood, they began to portray them in literature with “images identifying women with chaos and disorder” (Masiello 5). With the emergence of tango lyrics I have thematically categorized as “*Amor y Desamor*” beginning in the decade of 1910-20, male lyricists instinctively created what are perceived to be predominantly negative images of women in their narratives—the blame for chaos and disorder to be laid at *milonguita*’s door. In doing so, however, they simultaneously created the “whiny ruffian” (Savigliano “Whiny Ruffians” 87), a protagonist stagnated by nostalgia, both for his lost love and for an idealized past, and Storni’s “hombre fósil,” a man whose patriarchal ideas seem “petrified” in the past (“Los hombres” 808). Thus, from the onset tango lyrics began to reflect the perpetual tension between the genders, the vicious circle generated as women struggled to find their place in a changing society. As Storni wrote:

Así, en los modernos tiempos, los hombres se quejan de que la mujer ha perdido todas las íntimas bellezas que la adornaron, y las mujeres piensan que no hay ya varones que merezcan este adorno, pues para ellos y por ellos este adorno existía. (Storni “El varón” 992)

It is no wonder then, that women may have looked for alternatives to traditional marriage: as women faced economic insecurity, “muchas prefirieron a la formación de una familia dudosa, la aceptación del amor dudoso” (“El varón” 991). The analysis of the Tango Lyrics Corpus reveals discourse prosodies relative to this manifestation of female agency that are often overlooked when considering gender relations in tango.

While the cities were modernizing their infrastructure and dealing with the masses of immigrants flooding the region, an issue highly relevant to the development of gender stereotypes in tango lyrics was that of prostitution and the governmental policies regarding its status, given that many lyrics reflect the dichotomy of *madre/milonguita* or *Ave/Eva* (Izquierdo 60) from a patriarchal viewpoint. Although technically not treated so much as a crime as a health concern, prostitution was rampant throughout the River Plate zone, and particularly in the city of Buenos Aires. Prostitutes were present from the earliest days of the Spanish colony (Carretero *Prostitución* 9-16); by 1872 Buenos Aires had among the highest per capita of prostitutes and bordellos in the world, as compared to Paris and Madrid, putting Argentina on a par in this arena with other countries at that time (*Prostitución* 24). Thus, in 1875 the Reglamento de la Prostitución was sanctioned in an attempt to control the spread of syphilis, and registered, legal brothels in which the women submitted to regular medical exams operated alongside clandestine locales throughout the city of Buenos Aires (Carretero *Prostitución* 26; Rock 176). These hidden establishments were often referred to by euphemisms such as “establecimientos de industria” or “casas de tolerancia” (Carretero *Prostitución* 23-24). While during the first part of the nineteenth century *academias de baile* were, as previously stated, what they literally purported themselves to be, by the 1870s *academia de baile* was synonymous with *lupanar*, *burdel*, or *prostíbulo disimulado*, to which hundreds of people across the city attended each night (*Prostitución* 24).

Prostitution was legal; however complying with regulations (securing permits, monitoring medical examinations, paying taxes) was costly and no doubt inconvenient for those living on the margins of legality, therefore many locations were run clandestinely, often under the guise of an *academia* or *peringundín* (*Prostitución* 54).⁷¹ Consequently, as the new dance of tango evolved, certain venues as well as particular

⁷¹ Carretero cites tax records from 1887 that indicate that the tax rate for brothels was 67% higher than that for dance halls, subsequently leading to an increase in clandestine brothels functioning as dance venues (Carretero *Prostitución* 54).

individuals became associated with its reputedly licentious *cortes y quebradas*. According to José Tallón (6),⁷² around 1905-1908 Luciana Acosta was known by the sobriquet of “La Moreira,” both a tribute to a ruthlessness akin to that of *gaucho* folk-hero Juan Moreira and to her “moorish” appearance (Savigliano “Whiny Ruffians” 88). She was the wife and prostitute of her pimp “El Cívico,” Bautista Salvini, who was famous for his suave manners, dancing skills, and ability to seduce women. La Moreira worked as a prostitute, *madam*, *lancera* [pickpocket], and dancer who also used her skills to seduce new *pupilas*, or prostitutes, for El Cívico (Benzecry Sabá *Quest* 61). First appearing in police records on 3 May 1899 (Lamas and Binda 327), María “La Vasca” Rangola⁷³ ran a legendary dance hall and clandestine brothel known as “Lo de la Vasca” where, for three pesos per hour, a man could dance with one of the women under the watchful eye of Carlos Kern, “El Inglés,” María’s partner and husband (Benzecry Sabá *Quest* 51-60; Salas 84). Finally, the elegant and expensive “Lo de Laura” was presided over by Laura (or Laurentina) Montserrat, whose dancers were often the concubines of wealthy patrons (Salas 85).⁷⁴ The historical women mentioned here appear in a few songs, such as “No aflojés” (Gobello *Letras* 203; Romano 216-17), and allusions to kept women abound in tango lyrics.

The fear held by many Europeans that their daughters, sweethearts, and wives might be seduced into what they perceived as the immoral life of Buenos Aires and Montevideo was substantiated in fact (Guy 7-16). By the 1870s concern arose over the sexual exploitation of Jewish women, in particular, although it also involved non-Jewish women from European countries. Guy relates how, primarily in Russia and Poland, Jewish girls were sold by their impoverished families into sexual slavery, destined for Buenos Aires:

⁷² Although tango researchers (both academic and amateur) refer to Tallón’s account of La Moreira as a primary source, it should be noted that his work has not been historically substantiated.

⁷³ All other sources render her surname “Rangolla”; Lamas and Binda give the spelling “Rangola” as cited in the police archives they consulted for their research. Additionally, records indicate that by 1899 she was a madam rather than a prostitute (Lamas and Binda 326-34)

⁷⁴ For a comprehensive list of *academias*, *peringundines*, and male and female dancers, see Benzecry Sabá, *The Quest for the Embrace*, pp. 211-224.

Young girls were literally sold to pimps by poor families lured by large dowry payments. Nefarious traffickers arranged proxy weddings performed without benefit of a rabbi, then shipped the girls to their “husbands.” Since a valid marriage made all women subordinate to their husbands, pimp-husbands rarely had trouble forcing wives to “work” to support the family. (Guy 8)

In the late 1800s, the largest percentage of prostitutes were of Polish origin, followed by Italian, Spanish, French, Russian, and other primarily European nationalities (Carretero *Vida* 2 294). At the time of the Reglamento de la prostitución (1875) most of the madams, or *encargadas* were approximately 45 years old, generally European and most commonly Slavic women, while the prostitutes were principally *criollas*, including an infrequent indigenous or Afro-descendant woman (Carretero *Prostitución* 30). Albeit appalling, it could be a lucrative business: at the end of their careers, many madams and *cocotes* [highly paid courtesans] were able to take their life’s savings and retire in “comfort” in Europe (*Prostitución* 88). With respect to the procurers, the *lunfardo* term *cafisho* and its variants is possibly derived from *caften* [kaftan], the long coats worn by Orthodox Jews, and signifies pimp or procurer (Conde *Diccionario* 79; Guy 10); this term and its variations appear frequently in tango lyrics: “El cafiso” (Gobello *Letras* 48-49), “Margot” (Romano 34-35), and “Mano a mano” are a few.

In those *academias* that functioned as brothels, the *pupilas* worked alongside *coperas* or *alternadoras*⁷⁵ (Lamas & Binda 151). Several girls would also be employed as taxi dancers, and the turns at engaging with any particular girl were controlled by a system known as the *lata*. Men would buy tokens, or *latas*, from whoever was running the house and were then required to present these to the women whose services they wished to engage, either as dancers or prostitutes. In dancing, at the end of a song or set, the *bastonero* would cry “¡Lata!” and partners would change. At the end of the evening, the working girls would turn over their *latas* to the pimp or madam, who

⁷⁵ See glossary.

would then pay them accordingly, thus avoiding having money stolen from the proceeds beforehand (Benzecry Sabá *Quest* 49-50).⁷⁶

Out of the spaces occupied by the combination of these prostitutes, madams, immigrants, former slaves, displaced *gauchos*, and working poor, the tango evolved. The proto-tangos linked to the urban *payadas* and *comparsas* eventually led to the music known as tango, and its sub-genre, *tango prostibulario* (Selles 54-55). Within this period (the late nineteenth century), the composition of “El entrerriano” (Mendizábal), is considered to be the first tango proper in that this song was the first to incorporate the three-part structure associated with the style of the *Guardia vieja* (Gobello *Breve historia* 20-22; Selles 66), and was allegedly composed by Rosendo Mendizábal in *Lo de la Vasca* in 1897 (Varela 48).⁷⁷ Nevertheless, *tango prostibulario* consists of those tangos composed in the latter half of the nineteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth, usually described as merry and high-spirited. Although these rarely had lyrics to them, the titles of the songs were often risqué or frankly erotic, as can be seen by these few examples: “Tocámelo que me gusta,” “Date vuelta,” “Metele fierro hasta el fondo” (to which Villoldo later wrote the lyrics for “La Morocha”), “El choclo,” and the infamous “La concha de la lora” which was euphemized to “La c...ara de la l...una”⁷⁸ in print (Elías 104, 110; Varela 46). The music itself was not particularly construed as erotic, sensual, or melancholy, especially when compared to tangos from the twentieth century, and Varela (46) states that this was a reflection of a desire to break free from rigid morality and high social expectations. He emphasizes that “los prostíbulos no son espacios donde los hombres solo buscan satisfacer su deseo sexual,

⁷⁶ One of the earliest tangos, from c.1888 (Selles gives either 1878 or 1888 as approximate dates), is “Dame la lata,” attributed to Juan Pérez, in which a pimp complains of his hard life, and threatens the person holding the *latas* with physical harm if they are not given up (Salas 56; Selles 65). This will be examined further in chapter three.

⁷⁷ The exact date and location of its composition is in question. Although they give the year as 1898, Lamas and Binda (325-34) refute the legend of Mendizábal and *Lo de la Vasca*, demonstrating that María la Vasca did not occupy the address given for her establishment at that time. Additionally, contradicting testimonies claim either *Lo de la Vasca* or *Lo de Laura* as the site for this tango’s debut (Selles 66).

⁷⁸ The original title, “La concha de la lora,” translates from *lunfardo* as “the prostitute’s vagina” and was considered too vulgar to print on the sheet music published in 1901 (Benarós).

sino que constituyen ámbitos de encuentro donde lo individual se disuelve bajo una experiencia social compartida.” Later, in the 1890s and early 1910s, when the new urban *payadores* and writers such as Villoldo began to compose tangos, their lyrics reflected a celebratory mood rather than a melancholy one, and both sexes were presented with equal swagger and praise. This strong association that tango has consistently enjoyed with the underworld of prostitution has given rise to the notion that it owes its origins exclusively to that domain, irrespective of contributions by other facets of society.

Assertions that tango was “born in brothels,” repeated by aficionados, historians, and researchers alike have perpetuated this origin myth, to the extent that it has acquired the status of historical fact.⁷⁹ A key contributor to this phenomenon was Borges, who offered as somewhat dubious evidence certain poems of Marcelo del Mazo⁸⁰ and Evaristo Carriego,⁸¹ via roundabout, third-hand testimony,⁸² and a significantly more reliable assertion, albeit in anecdotal evidence given to Borges by his paternal uncle Francisco Eduardo Borges Haslam (1872-1940). The uncle related to Borges how, during his duty as a sailor, he went with a group of cadets to the *conventillo* known as “Los cuatro vientos.” One of the young men in the group began dancing “con cortes,” and the residents summarily evicted them from the vicinity, which Borges claims as proof that the “pueblo” did not tolerate and therefore did not invent tango (*El tango* 40-41). Additionally, Borges reiterates Héctor and Luis Bates’ (Bates and Bates) assertion that this narrative was indeed fact.⁸³

⁷⁹ For example: “the tango was forged in suburban bordellos” and “Prostitutes were the first women to dance the tango” (Guy 142). Also: “Es decir, el tango sale de las ‘casas malas’” (Borges *El tango* 33).

⁸⁰ “Tríptico del tango,” from a section of the book “Los vencidos”, comprised of three poems: I. “Los bailarines,” II. “El alma del tango,” III. “Final del tango.” (Borges *El tango* 35-36)

⁸¹ “El casamiento,” from “Poemas póstumos” by Evaristo Carriego (Borges *El tango* 38-40; Carriego 172-77)

⁸² “Y voy a recordar ahora, a un amigo mío, un hombre ya viejo, que fue amigo de Evaristo Carriego. Evaristo Carriego solía a referirse a él y decía: ‘La noche que Marcelo del Mazo me descubrió’” (Borges *El tango* 34). Carriego’s work is discussed in section 3.2.6.

⁸³ The Bates’ seminal work, *La historia del tango* (Bates and Bates), first appeared in 1936 and became the authoritative source for the subject of tango history, consistently applied to by researchers until recently. It has since been thoroughly vetted and many of its historical claims refuted in Hugo Lamas

As a result of Lamas and Binda's meticulously documented research into the history of tango, however, another, antithetical myth has arisen: that tango was *never* danced in brothels (Lamas and Binda 282-99). For example, based on their work, Dujovne (7) states that "dancing did not happen in brothels," engaging in a broad generalization of the evidence presented by these two researchers. Derived from statements largely found in police reports dating between 1880 and 1920, what these authors did in fact argue was that dancing did not take place in bordellos that were located within the city limits of Buenos Aires during that period, although they acknowledge that it was a common enough practice in the suburbs, or *orillas* of the city (Lamas and Binda 282-99). Additionally, their purpose appears to be to dispel the myth that tango was somehow engendered within the walls of houses of ill repute, rather than in other social spaces such as the *conventillos* and *carnavales*. Here, then, they would seem to contradict their own premise, as they and most other researchers do agree that tango did spring from the social environs of the *orillas*. Regardless, their findings may have been misinterpreted by others to signify that tango is absolved of all its underworld connections and therefore had no presence in the brothels of Buenos Aires. However, this opposing view tends toward extremism and appears implausible given historical facts. Again, Varela presents a more nuanced sociohistorical reality:

Como una diagonal trazada en la génesis biopolítica del Estado argentino, el nacimiento del tango está inserto en una realidad social móvil, inquieta, hecha de inmigrantes, de prostitutas, de obreros, de luchas ideológicas y refriegas callejeras. Suponer que el tango puede mantenerse ajeno a la realidad histórica en la que nace y se despliega es pensarlo como una entidad abstracta, una entealequia sonora sin filiación real, más cercana a una fábula que a la historia. (49)

Carretero (*Prostitución*) consults archival sources other than the police reports and newspaper articles cited by Lamas and Binda, such as records of medical inspections of

and Enrique Binda's more contemporary study, *El tango en la sociedad porteña. 1880-1920* (Lamas and Binda).

regulated brothels, local ordinances, and the first 1869 and subsequent censuses of the city. In doing so, he uncovers clear evidence that all three spaces, the *orilla*, the *conventillo*, and the brothels, were involved with tango, specifically demonstrating that clandestine bordellos as well as individual prostitutes and pimps operated within many *conventillos* throughout the city, in both downtown and suburban areas (*Prostitución* 19-44). Although it can neither be substantiated nor refuted that tango was expressly created in the brothels of Buenos Aires, those spaces, along with the *conventillos*, the *orillas*, and even the affluent city center, remain intrinsically connected with tango.

2.7 Conclusion

The questions of tango's origins and connections to these varied groups and urban spaces is directly relevant to this research in that the lyrics are the byproduct of that history. A pervasive motif in tango lyrics is that of the "innocent" *piba* or the desired *percant*a who is seduced from her "pure," "honest" life in the *conventillo* to that of the *mala vida* of the tango world where she metamorphoses into a *milonguita*. The male gaze of the lyrics (regardless of whether the lyricist was male or female—the poetic voice is generally focalized from a male perspective in most lyrics) renders *milonguita* a victim rather than an agent of her own destiny, which I contend is not always the case and will show from the data and analyses in chapters four, five, and six. The male, represented by such motifs as the *compadrito*, the *bacán*, or the *criollo* is similarly rendered impotent by his inability to prevent *milonguita's* actions and consequent "corruption." The terms employed to signify the female and the male in the lyrics have likewise evolved from the historical contexts outlined in the foregoing chapter. Chapter three will scrutinize the evolution of tango lyrics, as well as that of *lunfardo*, specifically analyzing the predominant gender-based cultural markers that have been identified in the corpus. As presented in this chapter, the linguistic history of these diverse groups permeates the lyrics, and tango provides the common ground where they find expression.

Chapter Three. Words and Language of Tango

3.1 Introduction

De valor desigual, ya que notoriamente proceden de centenares y de miles de plumas heterogéneas, las letras de tango que la inspiración o la industria han elaborado integran, al cabo de medio siglo, un casi inextricable corpus poeticum que los historiadores de la literatura argentina leerán o, en todo caso, vindicarán.

(Borges Obras 163)

Presumably much to Borges' chagrin, the above speculation has become a reality: tango lyrics have indeed become the subject of research and study, generally from a cultural or literary perspective, but not, however, from a sociolinguistic approach, a gap which this research aims to fill. Historically speaking, the trajectory of the early development of tango lyrics is as challenging to trace accurately as is that of the music and dance of the genre, given the paucity of documentation as well as the variety of potentially influential sources, as will be shown. As stated in chapter two, of the three facets of tango—music, dance, and lyrics—of concern here are the lyrics and the specific language that was used to create the modern tango.

It is the contention of many, including Borges, that the earliest tango music had no lyrics: “Al principio, el tango no tuvo letra o la tuvo obscena y casual.” (Borges Obras 163). Allegedly these tango songs⁸⁴ only had double entendre-laced titles and this early music was intended strictly for dancing (Lamas & Binda 97-109). However others, notably Selles (53), refute this, pointing to lyrics in what might be termed proto-tangos: the Afro-descendant tangos and *comparsas* from the early nineteenth century, and the *zarzuelas*, *cuplés* [music hall songs], and other songs that were popular from the middle of that century through the first third of the next. I would argue that, while lyrics set to other types of popular music that were in vogue prior to tango's emergence are in no way to be considered modern tangos themselves, their themes and poetic styles may also have had an influence on tango lyrics. Thus, in the first part of this chapter I will examine the lyrical content of early River Plate area

⁸⁴ Often denominated *tango prostibulario*. See chapter three, section 3.2.5.

popular music, briefly revisiting the *candombe*, *comparsa*, and *payadas*, discuss the influence of *zarzuelas*, *sainetes*, and the *género chico*⁸⁵ on tango lyrics, and compare some of the so-called *textos eróticos* with other proto-tangos as potential sources for lyrics, including *tango prostibulario*. The second part of the chapter will focus on *lunfardo*, its history and composition as related to its appearance in tango lyrics. These two topics are germane to my research in that they show probable evolutionary paths for tango lyrics, as well as those of tango's distinguishing linguistic feature, *lunfardo*, thereby providing detailed historical and linguistic context for the gendered terms in the study.

Before continuing, a brief comment should be made regarding certain unmistakable characteristics of the song texts presented herein that may imply connections with some of the world's oldest musical traditions, in particular the Spanish *romances*, or ballads, and *trovos*, a troubadour genre. Primarily, many examples given in this chapter share the octosyllabic meter and assonance on even-numbered lines that characterize the Spanish *romances* (Smith xxvi-vii). Readers familiar with poetry analysis will undoubtedly recognize various Spanish meters in the sample texts: octosyllabic, including octosyllabic lines grouped in pairs, with a caesura in the middle, principally corresponding to the *romance*; heptasyllabic, hexasyllabic, or pentasyllabic, corresponding to the *romancillo* or *romance endecha*; and the occasional *alejandrino* [fourteen syllable line]. There may also be frequent use of hemistiches, which often appear to correspond to the musical phrasing (e.g. the 1950 lyric to "El otario" discussed in section 3.2.5). Octosyllabic musical phrasing has been used in Spanish at least since medieval times (Smith xxix), therefore it is logical that it should provide the basis for tango phrasing, especially given the 2/4 time signature of the music; however it should be noted that composers, orchestra leaders, and vocalists did not follow it obsequiously. As stated above, occasionally these texts, like their ballad counterparts from the mid-sixteenth century, incorporate lines of nine, seven, or six syllables or other meters (Smith xxix); nevertheless the octosyllabic meter

⁸⁵ Short musical theater pieces of a generally popular or costumbrist nature (RAE "DLE").

generally predominates. As will be shown, early popular songs, *comparsas*, *payadas*, and tangos all shared these features. Similarly, Poosson traces the origins of the *payada* to the “*trovo alpujarreño* (a troubadour genre from Las Alpujarras, in the region of Almería, Spain)” (94), stating that the improvisational nature of the *trovo* (a genre arising from Arabic tradition) gave rise to the *payada*, supporting his argument by suggesting that since numerous Spanish immigrants to the River Plate were originally from Andalucía, the *payada* must therefore be linked to the *trovo*, which has a metrical structure similar to the *romance* (95). As shown in chapter two (sections 2.3 and 2.4), the *payada* is culturally connected with the tango, in addition to having the same octosyllabic meter of the *romances*. While this thesis is not focused on metrical or rhythmical aspects of the texts except where it has arguably influenced word choice, nevertheless it is important to recognize these dimensions. Additionally, this link is relevant insofar as it supports the argument of this chapter in demonstrating continuity in the evolution of tango lyrics.

Researchers have unsuccessfully searched for concrete evidence of one distinctive musical link between forms of popular music known to have existed in the River Plate region, whether emanating from Europe, such as mazurkas, polkas, waltzes, or *tango andaluz*, or from Latin American sources such as *habanera*, *candombe*, and *payada*, and the definitive form of tango as it is now known.⁸⁶ However, little has been done regarding the possible linguistic links between genres. It would seem logical that as each popular form evolved, certain elements such as thematic content, popular sayings, and vocabulary might have crossed from one category to another, and this would provide a preliminary explanation for the emergence of tango lyrics.⁸⁷ Gobello divides the development of tango lyrics into three stages: the period of lyrics that were “*picarescas y a veces obscenas*,” the period of the “*tango de varieté*,” and the period

⁸⁶ Keeping in mind that, until the twentieth century at least, “tango” could refer to several musical genres: “*tango africano*” from the *candombes* and *comparsas* of the Afro-descendant nations, “*tango andaluz*” that is now associated with *flamenco*, and *tango criollo*, the precursor to modern tango (Gobello *Breve historia* 23).

⁸⁷ This supposition merits a thorough investigation, however it is beyond the current scope of this research.

of lyrics that were from the newer category of *tango canción*, as epitomized by Contursi's breakout hit, "Mi Noche Triste," which is considered to be the advent of "tango proper," or modern tango (Gobello *Breve historia* 72). I would argue, however, that the search should begin earlier, with the first music varieties to become popular in post-independence Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

3.2 Evolution of Tango Lyrics

3.2.1 Early Popular Songs

The aim of this section is therefore to lay a foundation for tracing the origins of typical tango themes and motifs back to popular music of the nineteenth century, for the purpose of showing later how these merged with other genres from the region to create tango lyrics. Thematically, love, along with its pitfalls, has been a constant element in song lyrics from the region. One of the earliest and most popular songs in the River Plate area between 1830 and 1840 was "La Tirana. El que sin amores vive," lyrics by Florencio Varela, music by Mariano Pablo Rosquellas. According to Vicente Gesualdo,⁸⁸ this was a duet, a song that appeared in the *Cancionero argentino, tomo I* in 1837. The first stanza begins with a man and woman singing together of the vicissitudes of love, followed by the man calling the woman "Tirana," and the woman describing him as "cruel," after which they resume the duet: "Sin tener amor no hay vida, / Fuera del amor no hay goces" (Gesualdo 549). The tension between the genders is evident, the dangers are great ("Tener amor es morir, / Que no hay quietud en amores"), yet the ineluctability of love is stressed. The format of this song hints at the "call and response" structure that is prevalent in many cultures, but particularly in African folk traditions, including those brought to the Americas by African slaves (Waterman 23), and similarly in the tradition of the *gaucho's contrapunto* (Bockelman "Between" 592). Although very few tangos imitate this structure, an example is found

⁸⁸ An indispensable resource is Gesualdo's three-volume work, *Historia de la música en la Argentina*, which features an inventory of that country's musical production from 1830 to 1900.

in “Que sí, que no” by Eloísa D’Herbil de Silva y Barbosa⁸⁹ (D’Herbil “Que sí”), and several “proto-tangos” as well as many of the works from Lehmann-Nitsche *Textos eróticos* employ this call and response format. While it is not within the immediate purview of this thesis, it is possible that future research in which forensic linguistics methods are applied to these texts and to those of my Tango Lyrics Corpus could substantiate these connections. Nevertheless, what is being illustrated here is that the theme of amorous tension found in early popular music is also one that is prevalent in tango lyrics.

The love song, *El desamor*, with lyrics by Argentinian Romantic poet Esteban Echeverría and music by Juan Pedro Esnaola in 1836 might be a harbinger of what Savigliano refers to as the “whiney ruffian,” the male emasculated by love (Savigliano *Tango* 61-68), especially when considered alongside the opening lines of “Mi noche triste”:

“El desamor” (1836)

Acongojada mi alma
Día y noche delira
El corazón suspira
Por ilusorio bien”
(Gesualdo 553).

“Mi noche triste” (1915)

Percanta que me amuraste
en lo mejor de mi vida,
dejándome el alma herida
y espina en el corazón

“My Sad Night”

You abandoned me girl
at the peak of my life
leaving my soul wounded
and a thorn in my heart.

In both cases the narrator’s soul is wounded by lost love; however, in the tango the blame is concretely attributed to the *percanta*, and the metaphor of the wounded soul is amplified with a physical image of a thorn in the heart; additionally the acceptance of the tango with its purposeful use of *lunfardo* distinguishes it from earlier romantic music. Again, there appears to be thematic continuity from the 1836 song to the tango appearing seventy years later.

⁸⁹ Eloísa María Dolores Juana de la Santísima Trinidad D’Herbil de Silva y Barbosa was born in Cádiz in 1846 and died in Buenos Aires in 1943. She was a concert pianist, prolific composer, and is the first known female composer of tangos and writer of tango lyrics (Lamas and Binda 168-170). Little is known of her tango oeuvre, as her family destroyed any tango-related materials upon her death (Miguens).

This period, from 1830 up through the 1860s, saw a slew of romantic song titles, particularly consisting of women's names: "Elisa," "A Cloris," "Elisa y Dalmiro," "Lubina," "Julia," "Amelia," "Delia," "Elena," "Dorila," "Elmira," "Flora," "La Carolina"; these are just a few examples from the period (Gesualdo 555-59). The prevalence of songs in which the male gaze focuses on women is consistent with the similar trend that I have identified in later tango lyrics, particularly exemplified by tangos from my categories *Amor y desamor*, *Cambalache*, and *Nostalgias*.

A closer relationship between songs may be implied in the various iterations of the titles and lyrics to "La Caprichosa" and "La Morocha" dating between 1837 and 1913.⁹⁰ The first is "La Caprichosa," lyric by Celio Lindoro, music by Esteban Massini from 1837:

Yo soy caprichosita
Pronto el amor me inflama
Pasando un breve instante
Vuelve a la paz mi alma...
(Gesualdo 562)

In 1905 Villoldo wrote the lyrics to "La Morocha," which would become one of the most popular early tangos, often credited as a vehicle to sanitize tango for the bourgeoisie (Rivadeneira 56):

Yo soy la Morocha
de mirar ardiente,
la que en su alma siente
el fuego de amor
Soy la que al criollito
más noble y valiente
ama con ardor.
(Gobello *Letras* 20-22; Romano 24-25)

⁹⁰ A slightly different "La Morocha," a mazurka for piano, presumably without lyrics, was composed by M. Palacios, published by E. Hailitzdy in 1894 (Gesualdo 1045).

Although the “flame of love” in Villoldo’s “Morocha” does not waver (in contrast to “La Caprichosa”), the similarity in the motifs is suggestive of a link between Villoldo’s and Lindoro’s lyrics. Interestingly, in 1913 the famed *payador* Gabino Ezeiza published a *payada* titled “La hija del payador: Para mi hija Matilde Ezeiza (Cirio 27), and several lines from his song are comparable to those of Villoldo’s tango. Ezeiza’s “Soy la morocha que canta / cuando el pesar la acongoja / [...] / soy la morocha argentina” (Cirio 40) seem to parallel Villoldo’s “Soy la morocha argentina / la que no siente pesares” and also “canto un estilito / con tierna pasión.” The similarities between the structure, vocabulary, and the declarative “soy” used in the works of both authors might suggest a connection, or at least one author’s familiarity with the other’s work. Finally, in 1907 Villoldo wrote a lyric entitled “La caprichosa” which differs entirely from Lindoro’s older version in that the female narrator does not expound on love or emotions but rather on her prowess as a tango dancer (Rivadeneira 49). More detail about Villoldo’s oeuvre will be given later in this chapter, however it should be noted here that, as he was born in 1861, there is a likelihood that he may have been exposed to Palacios’ “La Morocha,” and even perhaps “La Caprichosa” if that song had enjoyed a longstanding popularity (just as Ezeiza may have been aware of the lines from Villoldo’s “La Morocha”). Germane to this discussion are the intricate connections between the song titles, words, genres and authors; Villoldo’s varied experience as a *payador*, playwright, director of a *comparsa* group, and also of a small tango band (Rivadeneira 15-17) would especially seem to make him pivotal in this evolutionary phase of tango. These examples are intended to demonstrate the interconnectedness of popular song lyrics, *payadas*, and early tango.

Yet another motif prevalent in tango lyrics is that of the young female consumptive, a theme more generally associated with the Bohemian movement in Paris between 1830-1850. The influence of this movement was being felt in the popular music of that early period in the River Plate in spite of the fact that Bohemianism was only transported to the region around 1890, enduring through the

early 1910s (Bockelman “Buenos Aires” 40, 43).⁹¹ In 1838, two songs were published with music by the same Spanish composer, Tomás Arizaga. The first, “La niña enferma,” had lyrics written by Bretón de los Herreros, also from Spain:

Mi seno palpita;
Yo estoy muy malita,
¡Ay madre! que venga
Que venga el doctor... (Gesualdo 567)

And the second, “El recuerdo” (author unknown):

No me aflijas memorias funestas
Ten piedad de mi pecho angustiado,
Si no existe me cielo adorado,
Como puedo sus ansias gozar? (Gesualdo 567)

As Diego Armus shows (190-201), this theme will be repeated alike in the poetical works of Evaristo Carriego and in the lyrics of many tangos, such as “Fosforerita” (Giura) “Cotorrita de la suerte” (Romano 126-27), “Carne de cabaret,” “Griseta,” and “La que murió en París.” This parallel theme running from early popular music through to tango shows both the influence of Bohemianism on tango and the continuity of ideas in the popular culture that led to motifs such as this that have become strongly associated with tango.

Finally, a significant title in the tango corpus is “El Porteño,” a tango whose lyric and music were composed by Villoldo in 1903. It is among the first songs that are clearly recognized as being tangos in the modern sense (as opposed to earlier forms mentioned in section 3.1). However, around 1880 Gabriel Diéz composed a “tango” by the same name. Gesualdo states that Diéz was a Spaniard who had lived in Buenos Aires since 1874, and that this tango “tiene todas las características del tango andaluz y la habanera,” indicating its likely status as an intermediary form or “proto-tango”

⁹¹ Bohemianism and tango will be discussed in section 3.2.6 of this chapter.

(Gesualdo 999). It seems probable that the then twenty-one year old Villoldo might have been familiar with Diéz's version and inspired to create his own. If that were the case, then this example would be further evidence of links between popular music and the genre that would become tango. As a musician who crossed the boundaries between popular songs, *payadas*, *comparsas*, and tango, Villoldo's oeuvre exemplifies the multi-faceted nature of the origins of tango.

3.2.2 Candombe and Comparsa

The history and evolution of the *candombe* and the subsequent *comparsa* was discussed in chapter two; what I wish to present here is some detail involving the lyrics to these types of music and how they are related to those of tango. In *Cosas de negros*, Vicente Rossi gives a precise description of the Association "La Raza Africana" and its performance of "tango africano" in the *candombe* in Montevideo in 1867:

La letra solía ser alusiva a la raza y de cariño a los "amitos". Primero una estrofa de cuatro o de ocho versos octosílabos, en compás de canción vulgar, cantada por una negra joven con voz de tiple; esto se llamaba "el solo", que era contestado por todos los socios con el "coro", otra estrofa de tres o cuatro versos libres, al mismo tiempo que con acompañamiento apropiado de los instrumentos se reproducía un candombe, diremos "acriolloado", conservando en su música la armonía africana en notas titubeantes o picadas, que culminaban en los redobles nerviosos y quebrallones del tambor; y así era aquel "tango". (Rossi 98)

The structure of the songs followed the "call and response" mentioned earlier, as well as octosyllabic lines similar to those found in the Spanish *romances* and the *payadas* of the *gauchos*. It is very clear, however, that this is "tango africano" and not the tango as we know it today—nevertheless, insofar as the *candombe* evolved and was displaced by the *comparsa*,⁹² and as later *criollo* musicians, such as Villoldo, were influenced by and thereafter appropriated elements of the *comparsa* to create tango, these structures bear mentioning.

⁹² See chapter two, section 2.3.

For the carnival of 1836 Alberdi composed the music for *Canción de la Comparsa de Momo*, whose lyrics were written by an unknown “M.B.” They are pentasyllabic rather than octosyllabic, but what may be of interest is the emphasis on dance that will appear later in the first tangos: line 7 exhorts carnival participants “Al bayle y risa” (line 7), and the second stanza lists “Contradanzas, Cuadrilla, y valz” (Gesualdo 554).

On 27, 28, and 29 February 1876 “El Carnaval Porteño” published the titles and partial lyrics to songs that were performed at the Buenos Aires carnival. Of the original list of ten songs, two specifically reference the “tango africano” of the *comparsas*: the title of “Tango” is self-referential, and “Domingo de Carnaval” (listed as an *habanera*) refers to dancing in the first line (“ay! los dos bailaremos el tango”) (Gesualdo 980). A third song, also titled “Tango,” treats the theme of unrequited love, which would later appear in many tango lyrics: “Aunque joven yo la amaba / y he sufrido con dolor / los amores de una joven / con desdenes me pagó” (980). Finally, a tango titled “El menguengue” listed by Gesualdo (980) is also cross-referenced as a *tango prostibulario* by Salas (58) due to its sexual nature. Although most of these songs could not be classified as modern tango, these examples suggest a relationship between the music of the *comparsas* and the emerging tango. The linguistic allusions to dancing and the love-based themes point to these connections.

3.2.3 Payadas

Several of the first tangos that appeared around the end of the nineteenth century and in the first decade of the twentieth had lyrics that were concerned with what I classify as “*Personajes*” (Category P). These songs were usually about men (although occasionally women) who were conspicuous for their strong personalities, physical attributes, and skills. The lyrics were often picaresque, having no straightforward narrative, and emphasized male bravado, virility, and masculinity in general. In gauchesque literature, many of the *payadas* displayed similar attributes, such as this verse:

Me dices que soy un pobre;
Pobre, pero generoso;
Como el hueso de la cola,
Pelado, pero sabroso. (L. Lugones 60)

The aforementioned Villoldo was a *payador* before turning his talents to tango, and his earliest lyrics are similarly structured: the narrative voice is usually first person and the positive attributes of the protagonist are juxtaposed with criticism, in a decidedly ludic manner.

However, beyond the merely descriptive, words and motifs in *payadas* may have served as inspiration for those in later tangos, as I have discovered in this example evoking the flowers in the countryside after a loved one has gone. Additionally, the second stanza of “Caminito” mirrors the hexasyllabic style of the *payada*, and both hark back to the Spanish *romancillo*:

Payada

No hay rama en el campo
Que florida esté...
Todos son despojos
Desde que se fué. (L. Lugones 61)

“Caminito”

Caminito que entonces estabas
bordado de trébol y juncos en flor,
una sombra ya pronto serás
una sombra lo mismo que yo.

Desde que se fue
triste vivo yo
caminito amigo
yo también me voy.
(Gobello *Letras* 101-02, Romano 73-74)

The image of the flowers and the countryside create a link between the two songs, as do the lines “desde que se fue,” giving the appearance that the 1926 tango borrowed from the earlier *payada* lyric. The definitive example of lyrical borrowing from a *payada* is found in the lyric “Tomá mate, che,” from 1857, which will be discussed in the section dealing with “proto-tangos.”

Additionally, the “urban *payadas*” that began to appear in the later third of the nineteenth century (Soler Cañas 152) began to incorporate vocabulary from *lunfardo*

in their lyrics, a practice that would carry over into tango. And, as Luis Soler Cañas asserts:

[...] ese último tercio del siglo XIX en que los payadores, por así decir, *se urbanizan*, fijando sus bases y puntos de partida en la ciudad, es también el lapso en que aparece, se difunde y tiende a extenderse cada vez más ese lenguaje orillero o arrabalero [...]: el *lunfardo*. (153)

An excellent example is found in a *payada* by Higinio Cazón titled “Rezongas entre una pareja: ¡No arrugue!...que no hay quien planche” that appeared in his work *Alegrías y pesares*, published sometime near the end of the nineteenth century.⁹³ The author identifies it also as a “tango nacional,” for which he composed the music. It comprises eight stanzas in an octosyllabic “call and response” structure, in which “Él” questions the fidelity of “Ella,” accusing her of flirting with the local tradesmen of the city, listing “el gringo de la carne,” “el sacristán,” “el lechero,” “el pescador,” “el panadero,” “el francés,” and “el botón [police officer] de la esquina” as his imagined rivals:

Ella:

¿Qué tenés que estás tan triste,
que ni vienes a comer?...
Le pegás mucho al alpiste [whisky]
y me mirás con desdén.

Él:

¡Mirá, china [babe], estoy celoso!
Sufro y no puedo aguantar.
Estoy como perro rabioso
que lo van a fulminar.
(Soler Cañas 155-56)

According to Soler Cañas, the urbanization of the *payada* is further highlighted by the selective use of *lunfardo*, namely the nouns *alpiste* [whisky], *china*, *porra* [expletive],

⁹³ The publishers, Maucii Hermanos, did not give an exact publishing date (Soler Cañas 155).

otario, *estrilo* [rage], and *botón* and the verbs *estrilar*, *brincar* [become angry], *engrupir* [deceive], *chamullar* [converse], *dar corte* [pay attention to], and *largar* [give] (Soler Cañas 157). The appearance of lunfardo and the themes of female infidelity alongside male weakness were all forerunners of the tango lyrics to come.

3.2.4 The Theater

As Buenos Aires developed and modernized throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, so did people's desire for entertainment. While the upper classes enjoyed their private salons and the classical theater, between 1864 and 1918 the principal attractions for the middle and lower classes were the theater, the circus, and carnival (Carretero *Vida* 2 131-55). The Argentinian theater played a significant role in bringing *habanera*, *tango andaluz*, *payada*, *comparsa*, *milonga*, and early tango to the attention of the public, via *zarzuelas*, *sainetes*, *revistas* [revues], *varietés* [variety shows], and the *género chico* (Selles 53).

Of the musical genres, the first to appear in Buenos Aires was the *habanera*. On 25 September 1849 the *habanera* "El charrán" by Sebastián Yradier premiered at the Teatro de la Victoria (Selles 47). And although the *habanera* appeared in the region before the *tango andaluz*, Selles insists that this music did not necessarily give rise to the tango, but rather that some texts of *habaneras* were converted into tangos as the popularity of these increased:

[...] nos hemos encontrado con varias habaneras convertidas en tangos [...] pero los ejemplos son escasísimos ante la gran cantidad de tangos andaluces acriollados o criollos al estilo de su homónimo de la España meridional. (47)

He offers as an example of this crossover the *habanera* "Dame más / Heroico Paysandú," which later became "C... sucia,"⁹⁴ by Casimiro Alcorta (El Negro Casimiro) c. 1884 and finally evolved to "Cara sucia" in 1915, as appropriated by Francisco Canaro. Selles is also able to perceive that far from being "born without lyrics," the words to

⁹⁴ "C..." represents "Concha," a *lunfardo* term for vagina, linking this additionally to *tango prostibulario*, which will be discussed later.

tango songs can claim part of their heritage in the *habaneras* and the “coplas de los tangos andaluces,” which would have begun to be heard during the decade of 1850-60 (Selles 53). Indeed, he states that in the song “Tango de la Menegilda,” from the *zarzuela*, *La gran vía*, “ya estaba prefigurando a nuestra *milonguita*, aunque con final feliz” (54), a reference to the archetypical female of tango. Additionally, another tango from that same *zarzuela*, “Chotis de Eliseo,” references the term *gili*, meaning “fool,” which later became the *lunfardo* term *gil*, whose etymology is presented in Table 19 in section 3.2.2.

Zarzuelas

The Spanish *zarzuela* first appeared in Buenos Aires in 1854 (Selles 29) and quickly became one of the most popular forms of entertainment, with 1048 *zarzuela* performances taking place in 1891, the height of popularity of the one-act form of the genre (McCleary 4). Santiago Ramos (1825-1902) was an immigrant from Spain and a composer, lyricist, guitar player, singer, actor, choral director, and orchestra leader (Selles 38) who performed a “tango de temática negra” for the Teatro Argentino premier of “La cabina del tío Tom” in 1856 and quickly became a purveyor of *zarzuelas*, adapting the genre to satisfy the tastes of his new country (Selles 29). From that period, approximately 1856 until 1865, Spanish *zarzuela* companies often presented “bailes negros” and “tango americano” with actors in blackface, similar to the minstrel shows in the United States (Gesualdo 548), undoubtedly taking their cue from the Afro-Argentinian and Afro-Uruguayan *candombes*.

Gesualdo (1024) lists *Ensalada criolla*, a *sainete criollo* with “prologue, one act, and four scenes,” by Enrique de María with music by Eduardo García Lalanne as premiering in the Coliseo General Lavalle on 27 January, 1890. Salas (28) and Selles (53-54) denominate this work as part of a revue, “El estado de un país o La nueva vía,” and *Ensalada criolla* as a *milonga* resulting from Lalanne’s combination of three popular tunes. Significant to the development of tango lyrics are at least two of those songs: the first one (unnamed) was later used by Julián Aguirre in the “Número tres” of his “Aires criollos,” the second was “La Antigua”, according to “Cancionero

bonaerense” by Ventura Lynch; the third was “Ke-ko” or “Queco,” from 1874, which Salas indicates was also known at that time as “Milongón” (Salas 28). The first and the third are important inasmuch as they are linked with the first female tango lyricist, Eloísa D’Herbil de Silva, mentioned previously.

The edition of the *La Nación* newspaper from 29 April 1891 referred to “Tango,” from the *zarzuela* “Centámen [sic] Nacional,” arranged for piano and sung by Isabel Orejón, as “el popularísimo tango” (Gesualdo 1030)—however this could be a reference to *tango andaluz* and not *tango criollo*.⁹⁵ This was soon followed by a *milonga*, from the *zarzuela* “Casos y cosas,” whose lyric was written by Nemesio Trejo and music by Maestro Abad, and published by J. Rodríguez in July 1891 (Gesualdo 1032). Although the lyric is not given in Gesualdo’s inventory, it should be remembered that at this point in time the terms *milonga* and tango were becoming interchangeable (Rossi 147).

Perhaps the most often mentioned *zarzuela* is “Justicia criolla,” a “zarzuela cómico-dramática” performed from the date of 28 September 1897. The lyrics were written by Ezequiel Soria and the music by Antonio Reynoso; Gobello affirms that this is “donde el tango se manifestó definitivamente” (Gobello *Breve historia* 25).⁹⁶ Assunção confirms this: “en una de cuyas escenas, referida exclusivamente al tango, se describe su coreografía, se lo canta y baila. Quizás la primera vez que el tango más o menos criollo ya, es mostrado en integridad en un escenario” (102). In the play, the character Benito, “negro, portero del Congreso,” sings of how he used tango to seduce Juana, all while moving his body in *quebradas* typical of early tango dancing (Gobello *Breve historia* 25; *Letras* 19). Another tango with the same title would be written later in 1925, lyric by Francisco Brancatti, music by Rafael Iriarte, but whose narrative would recount a type of “honor killing,” in which a father turns himself in for the murder of his wife and asks a neighbor woman to tell his young daughter when she is older that

⁹⁵ An early, transitional form of tango. See glossary.

⁹⁶ This is also the earliest tango in the Tango Lyrics Corpus, and was the basis for setting the left endpoint in the date range (1897-1945) for the texts

he had to commit the crime because the mother was a *libertina* (Brancatti). The first version of “Justicia criolla” is historically significant to the development of tango, in that it anticipates early lyrics (Gobello *Breve historia* 25), and the shift in the topics from one version to another is an example of chronological thematic shifts in lyrics from tangos labeled “*Personajes*” to “*Amor y desamor*” in this corpus.

Sainetes, Varietés, and Género Chico

The *zarzuela* continued to enjoy immense popularity through the beginning of the twentieth century, however by 1904 ticket sales for the newer *sainete* surpassed those for *zarzuelas* by 18.6% (McCleary 4, 21). Usually farcical, the one-act Spanish *sainete* became extremely popular with the people of Buenos Aires (Rivadeneira 20). Under the collective umbrella of *género chico*, performances of *sainetes*, *variétés*, and *revistas* entertained *porteños* (McCleary 14, 24). From France, the *variétés* brought clowns, comics, duets, acrobats, singers, and Can-Can dancers in what were known as *revistas*, most likely similar to American vaudeville or the British music hall. As the content of these performances became more bawdy and vulgar the works became known as the *género ínfimo*, akin to burlesque, and it is here that a connection with the underworld and tango can be extrapolated: songs that would be considered to have belonged to *tango prostibulario* might often appear in the *género ínfimo* (Rivadeneira 20-21). Certainly, with regards to language, Conde states that “El lunfardo había llegado al teatro antes que a las letras de tango” (Conde *Lunfardo* 386). However, Selles (54) indicates that while the lyrics to the Andalusian tangos were often laced with double entendres, early tango *criollo* and *tango prostibulario* tended to be more clearly obscene. And, ultimately, *tango prostibulario* and *zarzuela* lyrics converged in the songs of Villoldo, who has been shown to have connections with these and the *comparsa* of the Afro-descendants (Selles 55).

A crossover from *gaucho* legend and gauchesque literature was the play *Juan Moreira*, based on the book written by Eduardo Gutiérrez in 1879-1880 about the life of the eponymous Argentinian *gaucho* and outlaw (1829-1874). Works such as *Martín Fierro*, *Santos Vega*, and *Juan Moreira* had become models for “national literature,”

representing the noble *gauchos*, fighting for what they considered just and representing freedom and tradition (Archetti *Masculinities* 216). Gutiérrez was known for peppering his work with *lunfardo* terms (Soler Cañas 22), to the extent that *lenguaje orillero* was also called “Juan-moreiraísmos” (D. Castro *Argentine Tango* 43-44). As will be discussed in section 3.3.1, *lunfardo* had already begun to appear in the Argentinian lexicon as early as 1856 and was being documented by the time of Gutiérrez’s novel. José Podestá (1858-1937), an Uruguayan actor who formed the Compañía de los Hermanos Podestá along with his brothers Gerónimo, Pablo, and Antonio, translated the work from book into pantomime in 1884, then to a full play in 1886, in which the *milonga* makes its first stage appearance in the final scene set in a brothel (Salas 28). By happy coincidence, in 1890 the production introduced the character of Francisco Cocoliche, whose name came to represent the sociolect of the Italian immigrants in the city. Replete with musical numbers, *Juan Moreira* became a vehicle for the debut of several early tangos and perhaps a catalyst for the idiosyncratic presence of *lunfardo* in the lyrics.

3.2.5 Proto-Tango, Textos Eróticos, and Tango Prostibulario

Proto-Tango

The end of the nineteenth century saw tango evolving as music, dance, and words from its various inceptive forms to a genre more closely resembling modern tango, often designated “proto-tango” (Bockelman “Between” 585; Feldman 5). The lines between what differentiated a *tango andaluz* or a *tango americano* from a *tango criollo* being unavoidably blurry, it is difficult to be precise as to what might be considered a “proto-tango” other than by criteria accepted by tango culture and its researchers. As with the previous sections, examples of these transitional songs are presented here to demonstrate the evolution of lyrics into tango, particularly with regards to the inclusion of *lunfardo*.

The song “Tomá mate, ché” falls into this ambiguity, and yet it does provide some evidence of meriting the label “proto-tango” as it serves as a good example of the crossover between *zarzuela*, *payada*, and tango, having appeared in each of these

genres. The first instance of this lyric is from a composition of the legendary poet and *payador*, Bartolomé Hidalgo. His verses:

Cielito, cielo, que sí
guárdense su chocolate;
aquí somos puros indios
y sólo tomamos mate (Selles 29)⁹⁷

This was then copied and modified by Santiago Ramos, mentioned previously, for “El *gaucho* de Buenos Aires” in the Teatro de la Victoria in 1857 (Selles 29):

Tomá mate, tomá mate
tomá mate ché, tomá mate,
que en el Río de la Plata
no se estila el chocolate. (29)⁹⁸

This was followed by “El doble mate,” sung by Vicente F. Pombo as documented by Gesualdo from “El Nacional,” 9 October 1858:

Toma mate, toma mate, toma mate, ché!
Que yo quiero para dueño
Quien sepa cebarme mate... (Gesualdo 944)

Gesualdo further catalogs in 1860 what appears to be the same song as that of Santiago Ramos, although with modification in the place name. He does not, however, classify it as a tango at this time:

Tomá mate ché, tomá mate,
Que en la tierra del Pampero
No se estila el chocolate!... (Gesualdo 958)

⁹⁷ No date is given, but this necessarily predates the Ramos version as Hidalgo died in 1822 (“24 de agosto”).

⁹⁸ As stated in the notes, the diacritical marks are consistent with the original versions.

Selles (29) affirms this was “casi con seguridad la primera muestra de nuestro tango criollo”, but later qualifies this stating “el tango criollo sonaba, por aquellos días, muy andaluz” (Selles 30). Undoubtedly the songs are related as such similarities cannot be coincidental; this is perhaps the clearest evolutionary path from *payada* to tango that can be demonstrated with reasonable certainty.

From this point and throughout the end of the century, other “tangos” began to appear in popular music: in 1862 a song simply titled “Tango” (Gesualdo 958), in 1866, “La Coqueta” (Gesualdo 963) and “Una negra y un negrito” (Gesualdo 964), in 1867 “El Negro Schicoba” (Salas 55), in 1868 “Tango Elizalde” (Gesualdo 969) and in 1874 “Panchito” (Gesualdo 979). While it should be noted that during this period “tango” could have been synonymous with *tango andaluz*, *habanera/tango americano*, *tango africano*, *milonga*, or *tango criollo*, as Gesualdo particularly confirms with regards to “La Coqueta,” “Tango Elizalde,” and “Panchito” (Gesualdo 907), it is clear that it was progressing toward the form it is known by today. Gesualdo’s cataloguing of these songs is historically interesting, however it does not necessarily link their appearance with the development of tango lyrics as I have done here. While a forensic linguistics approach would be requisite to verifying these connections,⁹⁹ the evidence presented here is sufficient to justify these suppositions. Similarly, the next section will show the interconnectedness of “*Textos eróticos*” and their contribution to so-called *tango prostibulario*, an alleged forerunner of modern tango lyrics.

Textos Eróticos

Using the pseudonym Victor Borde, in 1923 German anthropologist Robert Lehmann-Nitsche (1872-1938) published *Textos eróticos del Río de La Plata: ensayo lingüístico sobre textos sicalípticos de las regiones del plata en español popular y lunfardo recogidos, clasificados y analizados por el autor*. The work is a collection of poems, sayings and refrains, and riddles of a sexual or scatological nature that the author states were collected “alrededor de 1900” (Lehmann-Nitsche 3), as he had lived

⁹⁹ And, indeed, this is another possible use for my Tango Lyrics Corpus.

in Buenos Aires from 1897 to 1930. Included in the chapter “División textos: poesía” is the infamous ditty “Bartolo,” the most recognized verse being:

Bartolo toca la flauta
De un agujerito solo,
Y la madre le decía:
¡Toca la flauta Bartolo! (Lehmann-Nitsche 24)

This standard version of the verse was soon followed by its Argentinian adaptations, which localized the word play such as in this paronomasia of *cajeta* [small box/vulva] and the reference to a street in downtown Buenos Aires:

Bartolo toca la flauta
La hermana la bandurietta
Y la hermanita más chiquita
Se tocaba la cajeta

Bartolo no come carne
Bartolo se va a morir
Ya tiene cajón comprado
En la calle de Junín. (Lehmann-Nitsche 24)

The origins of “Bartolo” date back to fifteenth century Spain, from a genre of Andalusian dance and song also known by that same name (Selles 33, 53). A lewd song in Spain, it arrived in Buenos Aires and eventually picked up the melody of the tango *criollo* (Selles 33). Later, the opera composer, Francisco Arturo Hargreaves (1849-1900) played the milonga *La Antigua* and the tango *Bartolo* in a concert—the date given for publication of Bartolo as a tango is 1900 (Hargreaves).

Of interest to this research are several poems which clearly have direct links to both *tango prostibulario* and modern tango lyrics. In the section of poems, Lehmann-Nitsche refers to several works as “relaciones,” either consisting of dialogues between a male and female, monologues by males directed at females, or monologues by females directed at males. Essentially, these parallel the “call and response” structure,

including the octosyllabic structure and assonant rhyming of even lines, as seen in both the *comparsas* and the *payadas*, as well as the occasional tango, mentioned previously. They were performed during the folk dances such as the *gato* and the *pericón*,¹⁰⁰ during pauses that were designed for this purpose (Lehmann-Nitsche 5), much in the same way as the duet of “La Tirana” mentioned earlier. This example illustrates the lewdness conveyed by paranomasia of these types of poems, in which *concha* is a pun on its standard meaning of “seashell” and its *lunfardo* meaning of “vulva”:

Él:

Hermosa concha del mar
Jabonada y sin espuma
¡Qué concha tan desgraciada
Que no puede encontrar fortuna!

Ella:

Si mi concha es desgraciada
Porque no encuentra fortuna
Mas desgraciada es tu tripa [penis]
Que no encuentra concha ninguna
(Lehmann-Nitsche 43-44)

At the present time it is difficult, if not impossible, to prove if actual connections existed between the more sophisticated writers for the Argentinian theater and the authors of these risqué poems, however the proximity of the dates and the similar content do suggest a correlation. For example, a *sainete*, “El Café de Camareras,” is listed as a *zarzuela* in one act, libretto by Pedró Díaz, music by Rodríguez Maiquez, which premiered in the Teatro Comedia on 15 December 1899. Gesualdo gives this detail: “El argumento giraba en torno a los cafés atendidos por camareras, como el Pasatiempo, frecuentados en esos años por 'compadritos' y gente de mal vivir” (Gesualdo 1062). Somewhat of a novelty for the time, “cafés con camareras” were, more often than not, clandestine brothels (Archetti *Masculinities*

¹⁰⁰ See glossary.

136-37, Carretero *Vida* 2 298). This is further attested to in the poem from the Lehmann-Nitsche collection, “Rosa la camarera. Cuadro de malas costumbres,” in which a *camarera* warns the new girl, Rosa, about the more salacious details of the working conditions:

En las noches de verano
No falta algún estafermo
Que nos conduzca a Palermo
En un coche muy ufano;
Y ocurre, si viene a mano,
Que el cochero es nuestro amante
Y al caballero galante
Le apabulla la galera
Si a la gentil camarera
La pretende echar el guante.
(Lehmann-Nitsche 96)

I have not found a tango lyric specifically related to the subject of “camareras,” however it is obvious that the sexual topics of the *textos eróticos* and later tango lyrics are inter-related.

Furthermore, the poem “Canfinfladas” (Lehmann-Nitsche 78-81) has as its protagonist a *canfinflero*, or pimp, as do numerous tangos.¹⁰¹ “Canfinfladas” appears to be a “call and response” song, primarily told from the *canfinflero*’s point of view as he threatens violence (“Te voy a tapar un ojo / De una viaba [punch] que te dé” (78) to another person, which may be “Señora Doña Victoria,” named in the third stanza (79). The listener responds by mocking his bravado, at which point the *canfinflero* storms out, his hat halfway on his head. It is this reference to the hat that the chorus of “Canfinfladas” shares with the later tango “¡Qué calamidad!” from 1925:

¹⁰¹ In addition to terms such as *cafiolo* or *cafisho*, references to *compadrito* can also be construed as pimp.

“Canfinfladas” (c. 1900)

Que calá calá,
Que calamidad,
Que calate el funye [hat]
Que te lo he puesto hasta la mitad

“¡Qué calamidad” (1925)

¡Que calá, que calá,
Que calamidad!
¡Que calarse el fungui [hat]
que calarse el fungui
hasta la mitad!
(Gobello *Letras* 92-93)

Assuming that Doña Victoria is the second voice in “Canfinfladas,” she is depicted as assertive, mocking, and defiant when she tells the man to put his hat on, in spite of her secondary role in the poem. In contrast, the only narrative voice in “¡Qué calamidad!” is clearly female, and although the woman is scolding, she is complaining rather than mocking, and her role is passive and submissive. Additionally, the sexual innuendo in “Canfinfladas” pertaining to the woman having only put on the hat “halfway” is subdued in the subsequent tango lyric, sanitized by Contursi’s poetics. Analogously, a final example, a significant poem from this collection, “El vacán,”¹⁰² has verses that are almost identical to a notorious proto-tango, “Dame la lata,” which will be shown in the following section on *tango prostibulario*.

Tango Prostibulario

To reiterate briefly the definition from chapter two, *tangos prostibularios* were songs whose only apparent connection to the world of the bordello were their suggestive or openly lewd titles, such as “La clavada,” “La franela,” “Sacáme el molde,” “Siete pulgadas” (Salas 57), or others such as “Dejalo morir adentro,” “Pan dulce,” “El movimiento continuo,” “Viejo encendé el calentador.” and so on (Varela 46).¹⁰³ While most of these may never have had a lyric set to their music, it is also possible that any such lyrics were transmitted orally and later lost, except where minute traces might be found in the texts of such works as *Textos eróticos*. And again, it becomes a question of

¹⁰² *Vacán*: An orthographic variation of *bacán*.

¹⁰³ For a more complete list of *tangos prostibularios* with photos of the record labels, see Guillermo César Elías’ fascinating work, *Historias con voz* (Elías 103-109).

direction, in being able to state with certainty whether the tango lyric arose out of the pornographic poetry or vice versa.

Another proto-tango often mentioned and also categorized as *tango prostibulario* is “Dame la lata,” referring to the aforementioned practice of using *latas*, or tokens, as a means of payment for a prostitute’s services. The music and lyrics are attributed to Juan Pérez, a clarinet player who performed in festivals in the city, and the lyric is one of the earliest examples of *lunfardesco* poetry (Salas 56). Here, there is an obvious parallel between the proto-tango lyric, written in 1888, and the poem form *Textos eróticos*, whose date can only be pinpointed as circa 1900, the time of its entry into Lehmann-Nitsche’s archives:

“Dame la lata” 1888

Que vida más arrastrada
la del pobre canfinflero [pimp],
el lunes cobra las latas,

el martes anda fulero.
(Salas 56)

“El vacán” c.1900

Que vida más arrastrada
Es la del canfinflero [pimp],
el lunes cobra las latas,

y el martes anda fulero.¹⁰⁴
(Lehmann-Nitsche 65)

Although lacking vocalized lyrics in the few recordings that remain of the so-called *tangos prostibularios*, as stated (in this section and section 3.2.4) I believe it is highly probable that many of these songs did include lyrics, as in the case of the works of Villoldo:

Villoldo habría editado una colección de ‘discos verdes’, que contenían muy poca información en el membrete, con el fin de ser escuchados en las antenas de los prostíbulos, los mismos llevaban impresionados cuentos de tono zafado o sicalíptico, que hoy engrosan la lista de ‘inhallables’. (Elías 79)

¹⁰⁴ A paronomasia on two meanings: poor and angry.

For example, the lyrics to the early tango “El otario” have undergone at least two permutations, and additionally there is a risqué poem of the same title in the Lehmann-Nitsche collection. The raunchy poem was collected around 1900; the first recording of Uruguayan composer Gerardo Metallo’s music was on 17 December 1909 by Victor Orchestra (“Victor”), and the “new” lyric by Juan Velich was written circa 1950 and recorded to the same music on 7 June 1950 (Velich *tango.info*; *Todo Tango*).¹⁰⁵ In the text of the poem from *Textos eróticos* the male narrator tells the story of how he desperately and recklessly attempted to avoid paying a prostitute for her services but ended up being robbed by her instead (Lehmann-Nitsche 104-109). The text of the 1909 tango “El otario,” lyric unattributed, includes several *lunfardo* terms and a narrator who is unrepentant about preferring flirty, haughty women (“minas coquetonas y altaneras”) to ostensibly poor, “lazy” *orilleras* dressed in muslin skirts; his preference is perhaps a reference to the prostitute of the original (Assunção 98). And finally, in the second “sanitized” version of the tango by Velich (Sibilin), the narrator speaks of dancing to the tango “El otario” (line 2). He recounts memories of an intense love, but describes it as an “idilio”, converting the desperate attempt at a swindle into an idealized nostalgic memory. However, the lines (7-8) “Porque este tango fue el testigo / De mi febril rogar de amor” could be a satirical allusion to the original *otario*’s attempt to persuade the prostitute not to charge her usual fee. Velich was born in 1886, therefore it is probable that he heard the Lehmann-Nitsche version, especially as he was a noted guitar player and vocalist from Barracas al Sud, on the outskirts of Buenos Aires (now Avellaneda), who later toured with the Circo Campos beginning in 1913 (del Greco), implying that he originated from and frequented the environments where those lyrics might be heard. These three examples present a lyric that has its origins in a humorously risqué *tango prostibulario*, which transforms to a ludic tango laced with “vulgar” *lunfardo*, and finally emerges, sanitized, as a lyrical

¹⁰⁵ This tango was not included in the corpus as it falls outside of the corpus parameters; it is used here to illustrate the connections between the *textos eróticos* and tango. Unfortunately, there are no known recordings of vocalizations of either version of this tango’s lyrics.

poem evoking nostalgia for a memory of love inspired by the original tango and its music. The connection between *texto erótico*, *tango prostibulario*, and tango is evident.

In spite of the disreputable origins of many tango lyrics, there were those, including Borges, who felt that as tango became more commercialized following the decade of the 1910s it likewise became insipid:

En el tango cotidiano de Buenos Aires, en el tango de las veladas familiares y de las confiterías decentes, hay una canallería trivial, un sabor de infamia que ni siquiera sospecharon los tangos del cuchillo y del lupanar. (Borges *Obras* 165)

For Borges, the old, *tangos prostibularios*, or at best those of early composers such as Villoldo, were open and honest about their immorality, while the commercialized tango became veiled, hiding the sordidness of the underworld or perhaps judging its apparent vulgarity with a hypocritical, puritanical, bourgeois morality (*Three Views* 385).

3.2.6 Literary Influences

Bohemianism

As stated in chapter two, in 1884 the Argentinian government passed Law 1420 (Argentina), mandating free and public education for all Argentinian children, and the first generation to benefit from this law was that which gave rise to the poets and lyricists of tango. Not only were the streets of Buenos Aires and Montevideo providing the scenes, the characters, and the language of tango, but now its aficionados were drawing from their exposure to world cultures and literature to inspire their compositions, blending the erudite with the vulgar. Many popular libraries of the time were organized by leftists and anarchists as a means of ideological diffusion, and were well stocked with the classical literature of Greece and Rome, including works by Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid (Fraschini 36). Additionally, as mentioned in section 3.2.1 of this chapter, the effects of the Bohemian movement that

had risen in France in the 1830s were strongly felt in the zone of the River Plate, albeit much later, first appearing in the 1880s and declining by the 1910s (Bockelman “Buenos Aires” 43, 57). Bockelman views the advent of bohemianism in the Americas as:

[...] a multilayered process that involved the erosion of elite control over high culture, the embrace of the metropolis as a new locus of cultural activity, creativity, and meaning, the acceleration of modernist artistic and linguistic “revolutions,” and the eruption of new forms of urban popular culture that increasingly cross-fertilized the traditional arts. (“Buenos Aires” 39)

Artists from Europe and the Americas were attracted to Buenos Aires, “a focal point for aspiring popular musicians and other performers” (“Buenos Aires” 41). Playwrights, filmmakers, writers, musicians, orchestra and theater directors, composers, lyricists, and poets such as Charles de Soussens, Rubén Darío, and Evaristo Carriego were among some of these artists (“Buenos Aires” 38-63). Many of them imagined themselves as living “on the margins of both bourgeois society and transatlantic modernity” (“Buenos Aires” 40) and therefore sought to upset the status quo by portraying the underbelly of modern *porteño* society in all its sordidness, without necessarily advocating for reform, “aligning themselves consciously or unconsciously with the new *payadores*, tango singers, and lowbrow dramatists” (“Buenos Aires” 53).

The popular space for this new Bohème became the public café rather than the private salon, divided in the 1890s by “[...] at least two clusters of artists, the young cultural rebels surrounding Darío and Soussens and the pioneers of urban popular culture, such as songwriters Manuel Cienfuegos and Ángel Villoldo” (“Buenos Aires” 41-50). In addition to these typical spaces might be added the *academias*, *peringundines*, as well as those of popular events such as theatrical plays, circuses, *romerías*, and carnivals that were abundant in the city, and where all classes converged and eventually found their way to tango. It was there that the literati of Buenos Aires would come into contact with the *bajo fondo* and its *textos eróticos*,

stippled with *lunfardismos* that would later emerge in *lunfardesco* literature and in the lyrics of tango.

That the movement left its mark on tango can be clearly seen in song titles such as: “El bohemio” by Villoldo from 1905 (Rivadeneira 180); “Loca bohemia,” Dante A. Linyera, unspecified date (Linyera); “Recuerdos de bohemia,” Manuel Romero, 1935 (Romero “Recuerdos”); “Sangre bohemia,” Francisco Brancatti, c. 1929 (Brancatti “Sangre”); “Vida bohemia,” Rafael D’Agostino and Ricardo García, unspecified date (D’Agostino and García); “Alma de bohemio,” Juan Andrés Caruso, 1914 (Caruso); and “Bohemio,” Homero Expósito, unspecified date (Expósito). Additionally, oblique or direct references to either Bohemian poets such as Carriego or to traditionally Bohemian motifs such as the consumptive prostitute or factory worker, or Margarita Gautier and Mimi, abound in tango lyrics (e.g. line 16 in “Pompas de jabón” (Romano 84-85): “te sentís Mimi Pinsón”).

Evaristo Carriego

The model for the quintessential *porteño* bohemian was the poet Evaristo Carriego, known as “El poeta del suburbio” (D. Castro “Lunfardo” 30). Born in the province of Entre Ríos, Argentina in 1883, as a child he moved with his family to the Palermo neighborhood of Buenos Aires, and he remained in that city until his death, allegedly of tuberculosis, in 1912 (Borges *Obras* 113, 115). Highly influenced by his readings of Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*, as well as works by Dumas, Baudelaire, Munger, George du Maurier, and Soussens, he came to feel a compassion for the working class and poor people from his environs (*Obras* 115). Additionally, he was familiar with popular Argentinian works, such as the novel *Juan Moreira*. As Borges states: “No descuidaba la crónica de su tiempo: las puñaladas de bailecito y de esquina, los relatos de hierro que dejan recaer su valor en quien está contándolos” (*Obras* 116).

Carriego “observed the neighborhood with an immortalizing look” (Borges *Three Views* 383). He was a friend of the infamous Palermo *caudillo*, Nicolás

Paredes,¹⁰⁶ from age 14 and associated with all the *guapos* and *malevos*, apparently readily accepted by them (*Three Views* 117). By Borges' account, he once defended a battered wife, later writing about the incident and subsequently publishing the result; the *barrio*, including the wife and publicly shamed husband, were proud of their resident poet rather than offended (*Three Views* 119). Perhaps due to his very personal perspective, Carriego treats the "fallen" woman in his poetry with more compassion than she usually receives in tango lyrics, as in his poem "La costurerita que dio aquel mal paso": "Daba compasión / verla aguantar esa maldad insufrible/ de las compañeras, ¡tan sin corazón!" (Carriego 190). The two primary collections of his works are *Misas herejes*, published in Buenos Aires in 1908 and *Poemas pósthumos*, published in 1913 (Carriego). Gobello has noted as many as thirty "literary elements" that tango "appropriated" from Carriego, such as *organitos*, *conventillos*, *guapos*, *cafetines*, *alcohol*, *tísicas*, and *orilleros*, to name a few (Gobello *Breve historia* 55). There is no doubt that Carriego's oeuvre impacted later tango lyricists; some directly evoked his memory, as in these examples: "Acaso tu pena es la que Carriego / rimando cuartetas, a todos contó" (lines 24-25) from "De todo te olvidás (Cabeza de novia)" (Romano 168-69); "el buen organito que mentó Carriego" (line 20) from "La musa mistonga" (Romano 97-98); "Parecés un verso / del loco Carriego / parecés el alma / del mismo violín" (lines 20-23) from "Viejo ciego," (Romano 87-88).

This shows that tango lyricists were at least aware of Carriego's work, and of the bohemian world that he came from. As alluded to above, one of the prevailing motifs in tango lyrics is that of the "fallen" woman—the woman who leaves the sanctity of familial life in the *conventillo* for the glamour of the city—including the motif of suffering from tuberculosis as a consequence of her actions (Feldman 8). As Carriego turned his gaze to his *barrio*, to the people he knew, to their reality, so too did the authors of popular music begin to turn to those same stories told in a language that allowed them to express themselves and identify themselves as truly *porteño*. As

¹⁰⁶ Paredes was the subject of Borges' *milonga*, "A Don Nicanor Paredes," Borges changed Paredes' first name out of deference to the family ("Jorge" 55).

Varela states, “‘Mi noche triste’ [...] es el inicio de un tango grave, reflexivo, de interioridad existencial y de vida vivida sin mediaciones. Es el pueblo que habla en verso en los versos del tango...” (14).

3.3 Lunfardo

3.3.1 History

The language of the people that subsequently became the idiosyncratic feature of tango lyrics was *lunfardo*, and it is to this linguistic phenomenon that this chapter now turns. Currently, *lunfardo* can be found principally in Buenos Aires and its metropolitan area, and also in the cities of Rosario, Argentina and Montevideo, Uruguay (Conde *Lunfardo* 56; Teruggi 15). What may once have been a sociolect particular to the city of Buenos Aires has now extended to include many areas and is considered to constitute an intrinsic characteristic of *porteño* Spanish (Conde *Lunfardo* 56; González 116). Before proceeding to an examination of the origins of *lunfardo* and its significance to tango lyrics, it is requisite to assess its linguistic categorization: is *lunfardo* a language, dialect, sociolect, argot (or jargon), slang, or even anti-language?¹⁰⁷ How *lunfardo* is defined is germane to this research in that it may provide insight into the way and manner *lunfardo* became such an integral feature of tango and its contribution in creating the discourse prosodies examined in this thesis.

To begin, *lunfardo* in and of itself cannot be a language, neither an *Ausbau* language: a linguistically, politically, and culturally autonomous language (Trudgill 11); and certainly not an *Abstand* language: a linguistically unique language (1). This is for the primary reason that it has no grammatical structure of its own. *Lunfardo's* grammar and syntax follow standard Spanish morphology (Soler Cañas 14; Teruggi 41), and *lunfardo* has no closed word classes of its own—no pronouns, prepositions, or conjunctions, for example. Linguistic variation occurs at the phonological, morphological, and semantic levels (Conde *Lunfardo* 41; Lorenzino 342-44; Teruggi 41-86). As Conde states, “En una palabra, no es posible hablar completamente *en*

¹⁰⁷ See Trudgill's *A Glossary of Sociolinguistics* for definitions of these terms.

lunfardo, sino a lo sumo hablar *con* lunfardo” (*Lunfardo* 41). Furthermore, in his study of the etymology of several *lunfardo* terms, Thornberry observed that lexicalization of those terms from abstract entities expressed with grammatical words to concrete terms did not involve Spanish grammar, but rather a “semantic change or a process of word formation” (Thornberry 34). Nor was syntax a factor in the semantic shifts that created the *lunfardo* lexicon (35); the creation of a new grammar and syntax that might distinguish it as a unique language was clearly not a part of the formation of *lunfardo*. Corollary to this, neither can lunfardo be considered a dialect, as it is not derived from a distinct language.

If not, then, language or dialect, can *lunfardo* historically or contemporarily be classed as a sociolect or even as an argot or jargon? Although *lunfardo* may encompass some of the traits of these, it fails to meet all requirements,¹⁰⁸ nor does it display most characteristics of an anti-language.¹⁰⁹ While it is “difficult to understand” by those unfamiliar with the lexicon,¹¹⁰ it is not and was not the technical language of any particular group or profession, nor the anti-language of criminals (D. Castro *Argentine Tango* 43; Conde *Lunfardo* 55). From the period prior to its incorporation into tango lyrics in the late nineteenth century until at least the middle of the twentieth century, it might be considered to have been more of a sociolect, identifying the speaker as originating from the lower classes, including immigrants. In modern usage, however, it is at best a slang, and is perhaps most appropriately described as a lexicon particularly associated with Buenos Aires and Argentinian Spanish. Indeed, the succinct definition that Gobello assigns to lunfardo is that of a “vocabulario compuesto por voces de diverso origen que el hablante de Buenos Aires emplea en oposición al habla general” (Gobello *Aproximación* 43).

¹⁰⁸ This, in spite of the fact that the *Diccionario de la lengua española* of the Real Academia Española defines *lunfardo* as a *jerga*, jargon (RAE DLE).

¹⁰⁹ Simplistically defined as the secret language of an anti-society (i.e. criminals). For a complete discussion of what constitutes an anti-language see Halliday (570-84). *Lunfardo* fails to meet several criteria for anti-languages, including that of secrecy.

¹¹⁰ Moosekian found that age had a statistically significant, directly proportional relationship to recognition of *lunfardo* words (42).

Not everyone agrees with this assessment, however, and an understanding of what *lunfardo* has been thought to be, as well as what it actually is, is apposite to comprehending its eventual appearance in tango lyrics as well as its (and tango's) reception in society, along with its effect on perpetuating certain gendered stereotypes. Both *lunfardo* and tango claim historically strong associations with the *bajo fondo*, or criminal element, of Buenos Aires, however both additionally have much stronger roots in the lower classes overall. Nevertheless, it is the continued perception of *lunfardo's* criminal association that has perpetually dominated any description of this linguistic variety (Moosekian 37), which has in turn contributed to the perception of discourse in tango lyrics. As will be shown in chapter four, this research sheds light on these factors and highlights the importance of *lunfardo* in creating gendered discourse in tango lyrics.

Borges' interpretation of *lunfardo's* status became the touchstone for these largely erroneous perceptions surrounding the origins of this variety. He declared: "El lunfardo es un vocabulario gremial como tantos otros, es la tecnología de la furca [mugging] y de la ganzúa [lockpicking]" (*Lenguaje* 19). His words appear to have galvanized assumptions that *lunfardo* originated as a criminal *argot* or jargon, i.e. a secret anti-language, rather than as a sociolect that emerged from the integration of multiple languages in the diverse environment created by massive immigration to Buenos Aires in the nineteenth century.

How did *lunfardo* become almost inextricably linked with the criminal world? The twofold answer lies in the etymology of the word and in the first studies undertaken regarding this lexicon. Characteristically *porteño*, *lunfardo* began to be noted by journalists in Buenos Aires in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Before becoming identified under the designation *lunfardo*, lexical terms belonging to this linguistic variety were mentioned in newspaper articles appearing as early as 1856 (Furlan 639). In an anonymously published article dated 6 July 1878, "El dialecto de los ladrones," published in *La Prensa*, the author referenced twenty-nine terms that are now categorized as being *lunfardo* but which at that time were not distinguished by

that epithet (Conde *Lunfardo* 87; Gobello *Aproximación* 14). In fact, the term *lunfardo* was itself a particular term signifying “thief” rather than the label of what at the time was perceived as a jargon (Conde *Lunfardo* 45; Gobello *Aproximación* 15). The term *lunfardo* is thought to have been derived from *lombardo*, meaning a native of the Italian region of Lombardy (*OED*), however additional entries confirm that *Lombard* was also another descriptor for “a banker, money-changer, money-lender or pawnbroker” (*OED*). As Gobello succinctly states, “Usurero y ladrón, para el pueblo, son una misma cosa” (Gobello *Aproximación* 16).

Lunfardo rapidly transitioned from being a term exclusively designating a thief to one encompassing what was perceived in the latter nineteenth century to be the language of thieves: the first such usage of the term appeared in the article “Los beduinos urbanos” printed in *La Nación* on 18 March 1879 and authored by former police officer Benigno B. Lugones (“Los beduinos”). In this and in a follow-up article, “Los caballeros de la industria,”¹¹¹ Lugones identified a total of seventy-eight *lunfardo* terms (Lorenzino 345). The quotation “Pronúnciese en ésta y demás palabras del lunfardo la ‘ch’ como en la lengua francesa” (B. Lugones, “Los beduinos”) has been interpreted by scholars as signifying the first reference to *lunfardo* as a criminal jargon (Conde *Lunfardo* 87; Gobello *Aproximación* 14). Significantly, subsequent works on the study of *lunfardo* were all undertaken by criminologists, and it is thought by modern researchers that this fact colored the perception of those early researchers who failed to see *lunfardo* as part of a larger sociolect in the early twentieth century (Conde *Lunfardo* 46, “Lunfardo in Tango” 40; Lorenzino 336). The following chronological synopsis of those works emphasizes this bias:

- a) 1888 - *Los hombres de presa* by Luis María Drago, legal expert and later Minister of Foreign Affairs in Argentina (D. Castro *Argentine Tango* 20; Drago)
- b) 1894 - *El idioma del delito* by Antonio Dellepiane, Doctor of Law (Dellepiane).

¹¹¹ Published in *La Nación* on 6 April 1879; in it he elaborated on criminal methods and revealed additional terms from “el caló de los ladrones” (B. Lugones “Los caballeros”).

- c) 1896 - “Los que viven de lo ajeno en Buenos Aires. Sus ardides y sus prácticas (una excursión por el mundo lunfardo)” by two anonymous journalists (Conde *Lunfardo* 90-91).
- d) 1897 – *Memorias de un vigilante*, Chapter: “Mundo lunfardo” by José Sixto Álvarez, an officer in the Buenos Aires police force (Álvarez).¹¹²
- e) 1897 – *La mala vida en Buenos Aires* by Eusebio Gómez, a criminologist (Gómez).
- f) 1910 – Two articles published in the journal *Archivos de Psiquiatría y Criminología*: “Los ‘lunfardos’, Psicología de los delincuentes profesionales” and “Los auxiliares de la delincuencia” by Francisco de Veyga, a specialist in legal medicine (Conde *Lunfardo* 91).
- g) 1915 - “El lenguaje del bajo fondo. Vocabulario lunfardo” by Luis Contreras Villamayor, a deputy correctional officer in the Penitenciaría Nacional. (Conde *Lunfardo* 91; Villamayor).

By the decade of the nineteen-twenties, *lunfardo* had permeated popular speech and texts to such an extent that intellectuals of Buenos Aires were becoming concerned, and it became the crux of debates on national language and literature (Oliveto 2). Since Carriego, young authors and poets had begun interspersing their works with lunfardo: Juan Francisco Palermo, Felipe H. Fernandez (known as Yacaré), Francisco Bautista Rímoli (known as Dante A. Linyera, who also composed minimally fourteen tango lyrics) (“Dante”) and Carlos Raúl Muñoz del Solar (known as Carlos de la Púa) were among the more prominent of these (D. Castro “Lunfardo” 30; Oliveto 2), joined later by such literary notables as Roberto Arlt. Of several means by which *lunfardo* became diffused among the social classes, tango was one of the most influential media (Teruggi 251).

¹¹² Published under the pseudonym Fabio Carrizo. Álvarez was more popularly known by the pseudonym “Fray Mocho.” (Conde *Lunfardo* 91; D. Castro *Argentine Tango* 29).

Although not the first tango lyric to use *lunfardo*, the first line of Contursi's newly conceived *tango canción*, "Mi noche triste," set the standard for what would become tango's signature lexicon. Audiences of the time would have quickly perceived the colloquial expressions of that pivotal first phrase, "*Percanta que me amuraste...*" [Girl, you abandoned me], even if they did not refer to the lexicon as *lunfardo*, and they responded enthusiastically to the romantic narrative of the song (Pinsón "Mi noche"). Over the next decade tango skyrocketed to popularity¹¹³ and over the span of at least three decades would become the major disseminator of *lunfardo*. This influx of neologisms with their distinctive register into the common speech stemming in large part from the proliferation of tango lyrics prompted the newspaper *Crítica* to call for a survey in 1927 to answer the question: "¿Llegaremos a tener un idioma propio?" (Oliveto 2).

In posing this question, the newspaper did not specify *lunfardo* as a focus of the debate; nevertheless most of the respondents, various intellectuals of the period,¹¹⁴ immediately assumed that *lunfardo* was being called into question. For example, Last Reason (pseudonym of Máximo Sáenz) defended the incorporation of this popular speech into the national tongue, but was adamant about denying that the *arrabalero* or *orillero* slang that he used should be called *lunfardo*, a term and a lexicon that he fully associated with criminality; this was an opinion shared by the majority of the respondents (Oliveto 4-5). What is clear here is that by this time (1927) intellectuals were recognizing that *lunfardo* was an integral part of the speech of Buenos Aires, in spite of their beliefs about its alleged criminal origins, and although it was not yet deemed fully respectable, it was gradually beginning to be accepted and incorporated into the literature of the day (Oliveto 7).

¹¹³ See Lamas and Binda for data pertaining to the high ratio of sales of tango sheet music per capita (Lamas and Binda 206-216).

¹¹⁴ Oliveto notes that the Florida/Boedo literary-artistic group divide did not necessarily come into play in this instance: only Borges and Aurturo Cancela from the Florida group responded with no one from the Boedo group contributing. Rather, more intellectually centrist contributors, such as Enrique Larreta participated in the survey (Oliveto 3).

In spite of this somewhat begrudging acceptance on the part of intellectuals, *lunfardo* saw a major setback with the advent of “*La década infame*,” that of the 1930s. The first military-led coup d’état on 6 September 1930 saw the installation of a conservative government (Rock 214-15) that would begin imposing legislation regulating the content of radio broadcasts, namely of *lunfardo*-laced tango lyrics (Conde *Lunfardo* 397-414). Although regulations pertaining to acceptable language content to be broadcast over the air were first established as early as 1933, it wasn’t until June 1943 that official censorship was implemented (*Lunfardo* 397-98). With respect to gendered terms in tango lyrics, words that referred to men and women that were deemed too colloquial or that alluded to criminal or immoral background and behavior were changed to either a less offensive euphemism or a more standardized term. Table 2 lists some well-known examples that include terms from this study:

Table 2 *Examples of Censorship in Tango Lyrics*¹¹⁵

<i>Tango title and information</i>	<i>Original text</i>	<i>Censored text</i>
"A las siete en el café" Recorded: August 1943 Artist: Ángel D'Agostino	1. la piba Margarita 2. milonguero	1. María Margarita 2. altanero
"Elegante papirusa" Recorded: December 1943 Artist: Miguel Caló	1. Elegante papirusa	1. Elegante porteñita
"El taita" Recorded: December 1944 Artist: Tanturi Recorded: January 1945 Artist: Osvaldo Pugliese	1. El taita	1. Raza criolla
"Duelo criollo" Recorded: May 1945 Artist: Francisco Canaro	1. la piba del arrabal 2. el taita más mentao	1. la moza del arrabal (this change occurred in spite of the fact that by this time "piba" and the masculine form "pibe" had been authorized. 2. un mozo del lugar
"Consejo de oro" Recorded: February 1946 Artist: Osvaldo Pugliese	1. vieja	1. madre
"Carnaval" Recorded: March 1946 Artist: De Angelis	1. pebeta 2. con un bacán	1. muchacha 2. con un galán

(Conde, *Lunfardo* 405-406)

Lunfardo had still not shaken its putative connections to the underworld and this, as well as censors' perceptions of non-standard, non-*lunfardo* grammatical forms (e.g. the use of *voseo*, the participle *mentao*, above) made tango susceptible to the

¹¹⁵ It should be noted that this information refers to the recording dates of the censored versions of these songs and not to those of their original composition or first recordings.

examination of linguistic purists and censorship. Use of *lunfardo* in tango lyrics therefore may have declined beginning in the early 1930s, as lyricists, composers, and especially orchestra leaders and musicians who often performed live on the radio (Conde *Lunfardo* 407), had to make accommodations to satisfy the censors. Initial exploratory analysis of the data from this research confirms this: the decade of the 1920s has the highest concentration of *lunfardo* terms referring to gender in the Tango Lyrics Corpus. This is in keeping with general consensus regarding all *lunfardo* terms in all tango lyrics (Conde “Lunfardo in Tango” 47), and is further justification for restricting the time frame of this corpus to 1945.

Gobello (*Breve historia* 128-31) has observed that, censorship notwithstanding, between 1915 and 1950 tango lyrics experienced a gradual, albeit incomplete, divergence from the world of *lunfardo*, both lexically and thematically. His assessment is that although tango developed a greater elegance in musicality, the lyrics lagged behind in this transformation. He points to Pascual Contursi, active between 1915 and 1928, whose lyrics tend to be set in the crude world of the *lupanar*, *cafisho*, and his *mina* [in this context, prostitute] and may reflect this in the choice of *lunfardo* terms employed. Celedonio Flores (active 1921 – 1947), he argues, exchanges the *lupanar* for the cabaret, and the *cafisho* and the *mina* for the *bacán* and the *milonguita*, removing tango from the brothel but still locating it within the spaces where *lunfardo* was commonly used and heard. Finally, he states that Homero Manzi (active 1921 – 1949) left the perceived underworld of *lunfardo* behind and set his lyrics in the old *barrio*, populated by characters such as the *viejo ciego* and the unnamed love of his adolescence.¹¹⁶ In his estimation, “Nadie contribuyó tanto como Manzi a deslupanarizar el tango” (Gobello *Breve historia* 130).

In the latter half of the twentieth century, new scholars began to undertake the study of *lunfardo*, but this time from a linguistic perspective. Pedro Luis Barcia, José

¹¹⁶ Although Flores and Manzi were contemporaries, Manzi’s work embodies this thematic and lexical shift, represented in my categorical designations as the shift from *Amor y desamor* or *Cambalache* to *Nostalgias* and, particularly, *Poética nueva tanguera*. It was, in part, to avoid chronological constraints that I developed the categories as presented herein.

Gobello, Luis Soler Cañas, Mario E. Teruggi, and Amaro Villanueva were among the first to look at *lunfardo* as a sociolinguistic, rather than a merely anthropological phenomenon, although some, such as Barcia, still linked *lunfardo*'s creation to the criminal classes (Academia Argentina 40). It is important to note that while *lunfardo* was still being associated with criminal origins it was no longer necessarily considered to be a criminal slang, or an anti-language.

As mentioned previously (section 3.3.1), the first documented instances of *lunfardo* terms appeared in the mid-nineteenth century, corresponding both to the period of monumental immigration to the region (Baily 27) and the advent of the *zarzuelas* (Selles 25) *sainetes*, *revistas*, *varietés*, and the “newer” (from 1870 onward) *género chico* and *género ínfimo* (Rivadeneira 20-21), as discussed in part one of this chapter. Barcia, while still contending that *lunfardo* followed the trajectory of many other marginal lexicons¹¹⁷ and transcended the “círculo estricto de los chorros [thieves], punguistas [pickpockets], scruchantes [burglars] y demás componentes del hampa” to become the familiar speech of ordinary people, is among the first to recognize that it had its primary origins in the speech of newcomers to the River Plate: “ha de decirse que el lunfardo se nutrió de muchas palabras de la inmigración” (Barcia 8). Gobello substantiates this and emphasizes the influence of one particular group: “Ciertamente las voces delictivas del lunfardo son muchas, pero muchas más son las que tienen origen dialectal italiano” (Gobello *Breve historia* 71). However, Conde has substantiated that the greatest contribution to the *lunfardo* lexicon derives from peninsular Spanish (*Diccionario* 15). Perhaps the greatest evidence of this linguistic influence can be extracted from the quantity of loan words from immigrant languages appearing between 1865 and 1918 as noted by Teruggi:

¹¹⁷ He mentions *germanía madrileña*, *argot francés*, *gíria brasileña*, *coa chilena*, *replana peruano*, and American or British *slang* and suggests a trajectory from oral transmission, to appearance in the theater, to use in tango lyrics, and finally to the works of costumbrist authors (Barcia 8).

Su marca distintiva es la preponderancia de los préstamos, que si bien son abundantísimos, están limitados en su procedencia: abundantes italianismos (incluidos los dialectos peninsulares), dialectismos españoles, lusismos, y poco más, salvo el substrato lingüístico local (camperismos, aborigenismos y afines). (Teruggi 47)¹¹⁸

Additionally, given the greater numbers of male immigrants versus female to the region, as discussed in chapter two, it is not surprising that *lunfardo* may have been recognized as a male-generated vocabulary. Teruggi affirms: “Como todo argot, el lunfardo fue hasta hace muy poco un habla de hombres...” (260), yet he recognizes: “El lunfardo continúa siendo patrimonio de hombres, pero las mujeres y hasta los niños del pueblo llano y de la clase media lo van incorporando a sus respectivas maneras de hablar” (48). To this day it is still a common perception that *lunfardo* is a predominantly male vocabulary in both its generation and use (Moosekian 36). Furthermore, in this study, in a corpus consisting of 285 tango lyrics, approximately 63% of the *lunfardo* cultural markers that have been identified designate males, as opposed to 37% identifying females.¹¹⁹ These figures and the male-oriented perception surrounding *lunfardo* will become important to the discussion of the statistical results in chapter four.

In spite of *lunfardo*'s apparent male orientation, there are numerous words signifying females, as exemplified by Teruggi's inclusion of female gendered *lunfardo* words from the poetic works of Yacaré (Felipe H. Fernández) from 1916:

*Yo a la mina le bato paica, feba, catriela,
percanta, cosa, piba, budín o percantina,
chata, bestia, garaba, peor es nada o fémina,
cusifai, adorada, chiruza, nami o grela.* (Yacaré, qtd. in Teruggi 219-20)

Of the nineteen terms listed above, eleven (58%) are in the corpus and eight (42%) appear in the terms of the study, indicating the preoccupation of the male gaze with

¹¹⁸ Examples of loan words and their etymology will be given in the next section.

¹¹⁹ Correspondingly, 59% of standard Spanish terms refer to males while 41% indicate females. The importance of these figures will be addressed in chapter four.

representations of females, which, again, corresponds with the statistical results that will be presented in chapter four. Barcia (17) adds *pebeta*, *cosita*, and *prenda* to the above list and qualifies them by saying that “en su mayoría estuvieron en otra época recludos en circuitos estrictos de ambiente no muy santos que digamos” (18). In all of the cases he lists, the words are in the feminine gender as well as referring to females, with a few exceptions. “*Mosaico diquero*” in the tango “El ciruja” (Gobello *Letras* 102-3; Romano 98-9) refers to a woman in spite of its morphological structure (Barcia 18). While it is possible that several of these terms, either female or male, were created by females, this aspect of *lunfardo*’s terminology has not been discovered: “No tenemos información sobre la contribución femenina al lunfardo; es posible que términos como *marote* [cabeza] hayan ingresado por la vía de las modistas y costureras” (Teruggi 260).

As shown, the research suggests that the best assessment of *lunfardo*’s origins and its current linguistic categorization would be to say that *lunfardo* was in its inception a sociolect engendered by the mixture of languages encountered by the immigrants, *criollo*-, indigenous- and Afro-Argentines between the middle of the nineteenth century and up through the early twentieth century. Within this historical sociolect, there may have been a sub-lect used primarily by criminals, but which quickly passed into the larger popular speech. Uniquely, the name for this sub-lect, *lunfardo*, came to be used synecdochically for the larger sociolect, which itself, in time, evolved into a general vocabulary for the River Plate region. When lyricists began to put words to the music, tango became consequential to the dissemination and acceptance of *lunfardo* and vice versa:

[...] tango simultaneously defined, affirmed, and transformed itself into the ideal venue for the growth and expansion of lunfardo expressivity, an expressivity enabled by the performances of singers and songwriters, the advent of the phonograph, and, a few years later, the pervasive presence of the radio. Together, tango and lunfardo, both the offspring of immigration, won popular favor by feeding off of one another. (Conde “Lunfardo in Tango” 46)

In essence, *lunfardo* appeared in tango lyrics because it was the language of the people – the working, poor, and immigrant classes – just as tango was the music and dance of those same social strata. It appealed to the general public of Buenos Aires, including the middle classes and those elites (e.g. *niños bien*) who frequented the world of tango, all of whom recognized it as something of their own, a *porteño* way of speaking. Thus, this symbiotic relationship is pivotal to understanding how discourse prosodies surrounding gender may emerge in tango lyrics: the expressivity of *lunfardo* and the popularity of tango have combined to construct gendered discourses in the lyrics. As a linguistic variety heavily dependent upon metaphor, understanding the etymology of *lunfardo* leads to understanding the nuanced metaphorical meanings of *lunfardo* terms. I will now turn to evidence for the ethnic sources from which *lunfardo* is derived and other linguistic processes relevant to its creation.

3.3.2 Etymology and Creation of *Lunfardo* Terms

Lunfardo has been called “the slang of Buenos Aires,” which is what it has, in essence, become and how the average *porteño* might define it (Moosekian 35). Daniel Antoniotti firmly situates *lunfardo* in the *porteño* milieu, stating:

[...] las palabras serán lunfardas o no según el uso, generalmente inconsciente, que el hablante porteño le dé a esa voz, inentendible para un hispanoparlante de lejanas geografías, sabiendo que hay otra expresión sinonímica correcta, pero sin duda menos elocuente para la intensidad o el énfasis afectivo que se pretende transmitir. (26)

Nevertheless, *lunfardo* as a linguistic phenomenon must be distinguished from the more general *argentinitismo*, for “todo lunfardismo es un argentinitismo, pero de ninguna manera podía aceptarse la viceversa” (Conde *Lunfardo* 138). Aside from the expedient definition of being “a word or utterance particular of Argentinians”, *argentinitismos* “no revelan, como suele suceder en el lunfardo, una actitud ni lúdica ni transgresora (Conde *Lunfardo* 138). Accordingly, for a term or expression to be considered a *lunfardismo*, Conde has established:

En el caso de las palabras de la lengua castellana, será un lunfardismo si la voz en cuestión configuró una creación de sentido —esto es, adoptó un nuevo significado— dentro del ámbito rioplatense y ha pasado a usarse en la Argentina con un significado que no coincide con el del español estándar. El caso de los xenismos, será un lunfardismo aquel vocablo que se introduce en el habla rioplatense en carácter de préstamo, ya sea con su significado y fonética originales [...] o bien con variaciones en su semántica [...] o en su fonética [...] o en ambas. [...] Finalmente, una vez expurgados los pseudolunfardismos, la palabra candidata a lunfardismo no debe ser un americanismo ni un término de ocurrencia única o *hápax* ni un vocablo internacionalizado. (Conde *Lunfardo* 143)

As with any popular vocabulary, the exact number of terms in the lexicon fluctuates with time and usage. At the end of the nineteenth century, approximately 1500 terms were identified as being *lunfardo* (Conde *Lunfardo* 147), and now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, there are approaching 6000 that have been identified as such (Conde *Diccionario*). Debates on whether or not *lunfardo* is an historic, closed lexicon or a current, dynamic entity are not within the purview of this study; however what is presented in this section is a brief overview of the processes by which words or expressions gained new linguistic purchase as they became incorporated into the body of *lunfardo*. Both Teruggi and Conde have identified several of these processes: lexicalization—or relexicalization, in Halliday’s coinage of the term (571)—morphological changes, wordplay, including euphemisms and paronomasia, and the greatest source of terms in *lunfardo*: loan words or borrowing. What follows is a brief summary of the above, with at least one example taken from the list of gendered cultural markers from the study corpus whenever possible.¹²⁰ Where the information has been provided, I will give the quantities of words from each group. Terms appearing in the corpus and presented in the data are in bold face in the tables; all other examples are words that appear in the corpus but were not included in the

¹²⁰ For more extensive examples of these phenomena, see Conde *Lunfardo* 241-262 and Teruggi 50-66; the complete lists would be too large to include here and only gendered terms are relevant to this study.

data. Relevant to this research, the etymology of the terms has been considered in the examination of collocates and the identification and analysis of the discourse prosodies.

Creation of New Meanings in Lunfardo

Lunfardo engages in “relexicalization,” often in the form of splits (Thornberry 35), i.e. creating new metaphorical terms from old ones, and metaphorical patterns appear at all levels: phonological, lexicogrammatical, and semantic (Halliday 570; Lorenzino 342-43). Researchers have identified four basic methods of relexicalization in *lunfardo*: specialization, amplification, displacement, and change of gender.

Specialization (or Restriction) of Meaning (Conde *Lunfardo* 241; Teruggi 50-53):

A general word acquires a more specific, narrower meaning. Conde identifies thirty-six terms in this category (Conde *Lunfardo* 242).

Table 3 *Examples of Specialization*¹²¹

<i>Term</i>	<i>Meaning in lunfardo</i>	<i>Meaning in standard Spanish</i>
<i>gringo</i>	Italian, a blond person with light skin	foreigner ¹²²
<i>loca</i>	prostitute, easy woman	insane, mad, crazy

(Conde *Lunfardo* 243)

Amplification (or Generalization) of Meaning (Conde *Lunfardo* 241; Teruggi 53-56):

A term with a focused meaning is expanded upon to include other nuances or made more general. Approximately one hundred and thirty terms belong to this category (Conde *Lunfardo* 244).

¹²¹ All tables in this section (Relexicalization) are derived from Conde *Lunfardo* unless otherwise indicated.

¹²² *Gringo* has several nuanced definitions in standard Spanish (RAE *DLE*); the point here is to illustrate the specificity of the *lunfardo* connotation.

Table 4 *Example of Amplification*

Term	Meaning in lunfardo	Meaning in standard Spanish
<i>compadre</i>	<i>gaucho</i> settled in the city or its outskirts, characterized by a particular manner of behavior, speech, and dress	Godfather of baptism of an infant with respect to the father and mother or the Godmother of said infant; manner of address between friends and acquaintances; friend; acquaintance; protector; benefactor (RAE <i>DLE</i>)

(Conde *Lunfardo* 246)

Displacement of Meaning (Conde *Lunfardo* 241; Teruggi 56-64):

There are three primary mechanisms given for shifts in meaning: metaphor, metonymy, and synecdoche.

Metaphor – Conde’s list includes one hundred and forty *lunfardismos* derived from metaphors, however he states that the list is not exhaustive (252).

Table 5 *Example of Metaphor*

Term	Meaning in lunfardo	Metaphor derived from
<i>bagre</i> ¹²³	vagina, stomach, a very ugly person, esp. a woman	<i>bagre</i> : catfish

(Conde *Diccionario* 54; *Lunfardo* 253)

Metonymy

There are sixteen terms in this category.

Table 6 *Example of Metonymy*

Term	Meaning in lunfardo	Metonymy derived from
<i>gorra</i>	police officer	<i>gorra</i> : a cap worn on the head

(Conde *Lunfardo* 260)

¹²³ It should be noted that *bagre* is an example of a *lunfardo* term that either has become widely disseminated in Latin America, has evolved in meaning, or has become a colloquialism in Spanish. See section 4.2.2 for discussion of the criteria for determining whether a term is considered to be *lunfardo* or standard Spanish.

Synecdoche

The predominant type of synecdoche in *lunfardo* is that of part for whole (Conde *Lunfardo* 261); there are approximately twelve examples in this category (262).

Table 7 *Example of Synecdoche*

Term	Meaning in lunfardo	Synecdoche derived from
<i>fango</i>	<i>arrabal</i> , suburb	<i>lodo</i> : “an allusion to the mud streets of the suburban neighborhoods
<i>fueye</i>	<i>Bandoneón</i> : the accordion-like instrument that is the hallmark of tango music	<i>fuella</i> : bellows, an instrument for gathering and emitting a stream of air in a specific direction

(Conde *Lunfardo* 262)

Specialization With Change of Gender

(Conde *Lunfardo* 241; Teruggi 64-66):

The most common change is that of a masculine word becoming feminine, such as *salidero* (exit) becoming *salidera* (a type of robbery carried out at the door of a bank) and the example below:

Table 8 *Example of Change of Gender*

Term	Meaning in lunfardo	Meaning in standard Spanish
<i>mosaico</i> (fem. noun)	<i>moza</i> , young woman	<i>mosaico</i> : mosaic (masc. noun)

(Conde *Diccionario* 225)

Understanding the metaphorical shifts produced by the relexicalization that has created *lunfardo* terms is crucial to understanding their nuanced meanings in tango lyrics and therefore to the identification of gendered discourse. As will be shown in the discussions in chapter four, the collocational relationships between *lunfardo* and other words are what establish the discourse prosodies; therefore, deciphering the nuances of those metaphors is pivotal to analysis and interpretation of the lyrics.

Other Sources for New Meanings

Neologisms in *lunfardo* were often created as the basis for names of characters in comic strips or other caricatures, in jokes, and in puns (Conde *Lunfardo* 264-283). As many of these are not relevant to this thesis, I will only list those sources that have created terms that might appear in the Tango Lyrics Corpus.

Table 9 *Examples from Other Sources*

Type	Example	Derived from or replacing	Meaning
Allusion	<i>rana/ranero</i>	<i>Las Ranas</i> : a poor barrio of Buenos Aires	scoundrel, vagabond
Antiphrasis	<i>pebete</i>	<i>pibe (joven)</i> and <i>pebete</i> , a type of fragrant pasta. The antiphrasis derives from the bad odor of a baby's diapers.	(male) child, young boy, adolescent
Euphemism	<i>peludo</i>	<i>pedo</i>	drunkenness
Lexicalization	<i>bataclana</i>	Ba-Ta-Clan, a Parisian theater	chorus girl or dancer of low category
Portmanteau	<i>cafiolo</i>	<i>canfinflero</i> + <i>fiolo</i> ; (<i>proxeneta</i> + <i>joven</i>)	pimp

(Conde *Lunfardo* 265-72)

Linguistic Sources: Loan Words

Loan words in *lunfardo* are those that were “borrowed” from the myriad languages found in Buenos Aires in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Although largely due to immigration, the proliferation of various tongues included indigenous languages such as Quechua, as well as the different languages from the Iberian Peninsula, Africa, and diverse vocabulary from European criminal jargon. As in the previous section, brief examples will be given of each, taken from the corpus of this study wherever possible.

Languages

In addition to the material treasures that were appropriated by Europeans upon their “discovery” of the New World, Spanish *conquistadores* brought back a wealth of new vocabulary that quickly enriched standard peninsular Spanish as well as other European languages. As Spaniards colonized North and South America, there was an inevitable exchange of lexicon as new words traveled back and forth over the Atlantic Ocean. Loan words from indigenous languages took on new meanings as they became incorporated into the Spanish of the River Plate, and, in some cases, into *lunfardo*. For example, *canoa*, from the Arawak language of the Lucayans (living in what is now known as The Bahamas), and signifying a dugout canoe, came to be a humorous *lunfardo* metaphor used to designate overly large shoes (Gobello *Aproximación* 104). These, as well as Spanish terms that gained new meanings based on the needs of *porteño* society, all contributed to the body of so-called *prelunfardismos*, which are explained below (Gobello *Aproximación* 119). Later, when more Spaniards, the second-largest ethnic group of immigrants to arrive in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, contributed their linguistic richness to the milieu, *lunfardo* would borrow terms from Gallego, Catalán, Romani *caló* and Spanish *germanía* (a criminal jargon), as well as Castilian.

Prelunfardismos

Gobello has classified certain terms “*prelunfardismos*” based on the criteria that those terms were in circulation prior to the “Great immigration” and during *lunfardo*’s gestation, both of which he places during the 1860s and 1870s (Gobello *Aproximación* 113, 119). Conde additionally considers “el lenguaje gauchesco” to be an antecedent of *lunfardo* (Conde *Lunfardo* 227). Included in *prelunfardismos* are loan words from indigenous languages, standard Spanish, and from *germanía*. Table 10 gives some examples:

Table 10 *Examples of Prelunfardismos*

Lunfardo term	Borrowed from	Original term	Meaning in original language	Meaning in lunfardo
<i>cajetilla</i>	Germanía	<i>jaque, jaquetilla</i>	braggart	fop, dandy (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 80; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 119)
<i>ché</i> ¹²⁴	Guaraní	<i>che</i>	man	man, but used as a possessive adjective: “Che patrón”: Mi patron (Terrera 93)
<i>che</i>	Araucano	<i>che, ches</i>	man	man (Terrera 97)
<i>che</i>	Spanish	<i>ce</i>	Spanish interjection, <i>ce</i> , pronounced <i>tse</i>	vocative of the personal pronoun <i>vos</i> (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 99; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 119)
<i>gaucho/a</i>	Quechua	<i>wácha</i>	indigent, orphaned	orphan, illegitimate child, malicious or vile person (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 176; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 112)
<i>malevo</i>	Castillian	<i>malévolo</i>	malevolent	belligerent thug (male) who lived in the outskirts of Buenos Aires (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 209)
<i>taura</i>	Castillian	<i>tahur</i>	card sharp	a daring gambler; courageous, daring, brave (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 299; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 122)

¹²⁴ Note the diacritic mark; this was the only instance in which it appeared with this term.

African Languages

Gobello considers most *africanismos* to also be *prelunfardismos* as Afro-Argentines were already present in Argentina prior to the peak of immigration, due to their status as slaves or freed slaves (Gobello *Aproximación* 206-07), however Conde notes that it is nearly impossible to determine whether those *africanismos* first appeared in Brazil and later entered the Buenos Aires lexicon or were direct contributions by Afro-Argentinian and Afro-Uruguayan slaves (Conde *Lunfardo* 209).

Table 11 *Examples from African Languages*

Lunfardo term	Borrowed from	Original term	Meaning in original language	Meaning in lunfardo
<i>candombe</i>	Kimbundu	<i>ka-ndombe</i>	a lively dance originating in Africa	racket, disturbance (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 85)
<i>canyengue</i>	1. Kikongo 2. Kimbundu	1. <i>kanienge</i> 2. <i>ka-ngenge, kiiengu</i>	1. to melt into the music 2. dance (Thompson 10, 79)	<i>arrabalero</i> , of low social status; an <i>arrabalero</i> style of dancing tango (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 87); the typical attitude of a <i>compadrito</i> (Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 208)
<i>milonga</i>	1. Kimbundu 2. Kikongo	1. <i>milonga</i> , pl. of <i>mulonga</i>	1. words, argument, issue 2. lines of dancers (Thompson 9, 80)	a certain type of music, dance, and the place where it is heard and danced; muddle, mess, argument, lie, cocaine (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 215-16; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 209). Abbreviated form of <i>milonguera</i> (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 221)

Non-Indigenous (Immigrant) Languages

Iberian Languages

Table 12 Examples from Iberian Languages

Lunfardo term	Borrowed from	Original term	Meaning in original language	Meaning in lunfardo
<i>gavión</i>	Portuguese	<i>gavião</i>	gavilán	seducer, womanizer (Conde Lunfardo 203)
<i>grela</i>	Gallego	1. <i>coella, grela</i> 2. <i>garela</i>	1. female rabbit 2. shameless woman	woman; a woman exploited by a <i>caralisa</i> [smooth-faced pimp]; <i>mujer</i> . (Conde Lunfardo 219)

Other European Languages

Table 13 Examples from Other European Languages

Lunfardo term	Borrowed from	Original term	Meaning in original language	Meaning in lunfardo
<i>griseta</i>	French	<i>grisette</i>	a young female worker or seamstress	a young, poor woman (Conde Lunfardo 194; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 171; Terrera 125)
<i>pachá</i>	Turkish	<i>pasha</i>	title of a Turkish officer of high rank	a fortunate person (Conde Lunfardo 201)
<i>papirusa</i>	Polish	1. <i>papa</i> 2. <i>papjerosy</i> ¹²⁵	1. beautiful 2. cigarette	a beautiful woman (Conde Lunfardo 201)

¹²⁵ Conde states that *papjerosy*, meaning *cigarillo*, is a possible source for *papirusa* as it was a “palabra muy usual en boca de las prostitutas polacas, que solicitaban cigarillos a sus clientes y terminaron siendo identificadas con esa palabra, repetida por ellas una y otra vez” (Conde Lunfardo 201).

Italian

Prior to 1920, when immigration had begun to taper off for a time, more than two million Italians had come to live in Argentina, the majority of whom did not speak standard Italian, but rather brought with them several distinct languages (Le Bihan 4). Thus, not only were the Italians compelled to learn the Spanish spoken in their new home, but often were challenged to understand their compatriots. Four principal linguistic groups can be identified from the Italian peninsula, as per Conde:

a) el toscano o italiano estándar, con sus variantes particulares como el romanesco; b) las lenguas septentrionales, como el genovés, el piamontés, el milanés, el véneto y el lombardo; c) las lenguas centro-meridionales, tales como el napolitano, el calabrés y el siciliano, d) por último, el *gergo* o *furbesco*, es decir, el italiano jergal. (Conde *Lunfardo* 152)

Even in the early studies of *lunfardo* by the principal contributors B. Lugones, Drago, Dellepiane, Álvarez y Gómez, of the five hundred *lunfardo* terms recorded, Lorenzino states that approximately half of these are of Italian origin (347). It can be safely said that the various Italian languages had an enormous impact on the emergence of *lunfardo* in Buenos Aires and therefore of the development of the Spanish of the region. Indeed, Colantoni and Gurlekian suggest that intonation patterns in modern *porteño* Spanish developed as a result of convergence with the Italian dialects present in the city from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. “These patterns [i.e. *porteño* intonation, especially in *lunfardo*] are relatively new, and their appearance around the turn of the twentieth century coincides with the peak period of Italian immigration.” (Colantoni and Gurlekian 117)

Standard Italian (Tuscan, Romanesque)

Table 14 *Examples from Standard Italian*

<i>Lunfardo term</i>	<i>Borrowed from</i>	<i>Original term</i>	<i>Meaning in original language</i>	<i>Meaning in lunfardo</i>
<i>cusifai/ cosifai</i>	Italian	<i>coso; cosa fai?</i>	guy; what are you doing?	an unnamed person, derogatory (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 123; Terrera 121)
<i>merlo</i>	Italian	<i>merlo</i>	fool	fool, dupe (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 155)

Septentrional Dialects

Genoese, Piedmontese, Milanese, Venetian, and Lombard (Conde *Lunfardo* 152). Of these, Genoese has the greatest representation in *lunfardo* (Conde *Lunfardo* 159; Teruggi 121).

Table 15 *Examples from Septentrional Dialects*

<i>Lunfardo term</i>	<i>Borrowed from</i>	<i>Original term</i>	<i>Meaning in original language</i>	<i>Meaning in lunfardo</i>
<i>bacán</i>	Genoese	<i>baccan</i>	boss, <i>paterfamilias</i>	a wealthy man, sugar daddy (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 160; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 153, Terrera 123)
<i>mersa</i>	Piedmontese	<i>mersa</i>	a suit of cards	gang; a group of people of low social condition (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 161; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 155)
<i>shusheta</i>	Genoese	<i>sciuscetto</i>	snitch	fop, dandy; in Montevideo: snitch, whistleblower (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 290; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 156)

Centro-meridional Dialects: Calabrian (Italian), Neapolitan, and Sicilian

Table 16 *Examples from Centro-meridional Dialects*

<i>Lunfardo term</i>	<i>Borrowed from</i>	<i>Original term</i>	<i>Meaning in original language</i>	<i>Meaning in lunfardo</i>
<i>chitrulo/chitrullo</i>	Neapolitan	<i>citrullo</i>	fool	fool (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 102; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 159)
<i>farabute</i>	Italian	<i>farabuttë</i>	loafer, rascal	poor devil; loafer, rascal, braggart (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 153; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 160, Terrera 122)
<i>yetatore</i> (abbreviated form appears in corpus: <i>yeta</i>)	Neapolitan	<i>jettatore</i>	person who attracts or brings bad luck	pessimist, bad influence, person who brings bad luck (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 322; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 160)

Sociolects, Argots, Jargons, and Anti-Languages

In addition to the contributions these languages made to its formation, *lunfardo* borrowed terms from various sociolects, argots, and jargons emanating from the newcomers to Buenos Aires, and eventually to Montevideo. Among the sociolects are: *cocoliche*, from Italian and Spanish (Conde *Lunfardo* 164), *valesco*, from Polish, Russian, and Spanish, and *farruco*, a theatrical parody of Gallego/Spanish speech, similar to theatrical *cocoliche* (*Lunfardo* 164). The argots, jargons, or anti-languages that contributed loan words to *lunfardo* are: Italian *furbesco*, French *argot*, Spanish Romani *caló*, and Spanish *germanía* (*Lunfardo* 189-193, 217-226). These are presented in the following sections.

Sociolects: Cocoliche

The *Diccionario del habla de los argentinos* has the following entry for *cocoliche*:

- 1) Se dice de la jerga mezclada de italiano y español, propia del período inmigratorio, difundida y recreada por el sainete a principios de este [XX] siglo.
- 2) p. us., despect. Se dice del italiano que habla esta jerga.
- 3) despect. por ext., se dice de cualquier habla híbrida ininteligible. (Academia Argentina 267)

To this Conde adds another definition: “un personaje arquetípico del teatro criollo, [...] parodiándolo a un italiano acriollado” (Conde *Lunfardo* 165); this is significant particularly with regards to the origin of the name of this linguistic variety, as will be discussed.

The impact of the multitudes of immigrants who descended upon Buenos Aires¹²⁶ during the period in question cannot be overemphasized, nor can the role of the linguistically fecund environment of the *conventillos*, the *arrabales*, and the *orillas* of the city in creating new ways of communication and expression. *Cocoliche*, *lunfardo*, and tango all arose more or less simultaneously from these same social and linguistic spaces (Conde *Lunfardo* 164), and therefore it is not surprising that the language of those environs should be so pervasive in tango lyrics. First via the *sainetes*, and later through tango, the variety that was *cocoliche* and that would contribute so many terms to *lunfardo* reflected the lives of the denizens of the conventillo and vice versa:

¹²⁶ It should be remembered that Montevideo experienced a much lighter, although still significant, influx of immigrants during this time. While the consensus appears to be that as a linguistic variety *lunfardo* originated in Buenos Aires, it quickly spread to Montevideo in the early part of the twentieth century.

[...] el *cocoliche* de los italianos se transformó en el código lingüístico más fácilmente reconocido de los *sainetes*, cuyo español mostraba transferencias desde sus variedades del italiano. Por lo tanto, la pregunta retórica de Don Gaetano, *E donde se produce la mescolanza? Al conventillo*, en el sainete “Mustafá” cuando descubre que su hija quiere casarse con un inmigrante de Medio Oriente (‘turco’) expresa la percepción popular del conventillo como espacio propiciador del contacto entre inmigrantes, indiferente a la nacionalidad, religión o lengua de sus habitantes durante las primeras etapas de la aculturación del inmigrante al nuevo país. (Lorenzino 348)

Cocoliche was an amalgam of Italian languages and *porteño* Spanish; the immigrants strove to find a means of communicating between their disparate dialects and the language of their new country. A transition language, or a sort of interlanguage¹²⁷ at the social, rather than the individual level, was created in response to the need to acquire a second language. This intermediate variety was characterized by such things as Italian pronunciation of Spanish words, overgeneralization of grammar, and code-switching. Although an admixture, it would be a mistake to categorize *cocoliche* as a pidgin, much less a creole, language;¹²⁸ *cocoliche* may have experienced something similar to pidginization, but there was never any expansion or stabilization that would have lead to creolization of the variety (Le Bihan 15). In fact, it might be said that *cocoliche* underwent a process similar to decreolization, as words borrowed from the various Italian dialects became absorbed into the dominant Spanish, building the *lunfardo* lexicon.

It may be more useful to understand the process by which *cocoliche* came into being from a perspective of second language acquisition theory. Many of the phenomena that occur during L2 acquisition, such as overgeneralization, code-switching, interference (or negative/positive language transfer, including the preservation of L1 traits) were also present in *cocoliche*, therefore it might be classified as having been closer to a learner language or an interlanguage than to a pidgin or

¹²⁷ In Second-language acquisition (SLA) theory, an interlanguage is an idiolect developed by a learner of a second language; an interlanguage preserves some traits from L1 but can also overgeneralize L2 features (Selinker 214).

¹²⁸ Again, see Trudgill’s *A Glossary of Sociolinguistics* for definitions of these terms.

creole, especially as it disappeared by the second generation. Indeed, one of the unusual traits of *cocoliche* was that it was found present among first generation Italian immigrants, but had disappeared by the second generation (Conde *Lunfardo* 174; Le Bihan 15). Naturally, as families assimilated to their new culture, second generation Italians would have had superior experience with Spanish than their parents. Citing the early work of Gobello and Oliveri, Conde quotes:

Con relación a la inmigración italiana Gobello y Oliveri señalan que ‘el primer esfuerzo para hacerse comprender derivó a *cocoliche*, lenguaje de transición. Lo hablaban los inmigrantes. El segundo esfuerzo, el de los hijos de los inmigrantes, derivó a lunfardo’ (Gobello and Oliveri, 2005, p. 15, qtd. in Conde *Lunfardo* 164).

Additionally, there is no single variety of *cocoliche*, but rather several that are derived from the various dialects or languages from differing regions of Italy: “muchas palabras que han pasado del *cocoliche* al lunfardo no son de origen del italiano estándar sino de origen dialectal” (Le Bihan 2). *Cocoliche* would then appear to be as much about the process of language acquisition as it was about the lexicon.

As Lorenzino illustrates, two functions of *cocoliche* developed side by side: the practical, real-world application of a linguistic tool used by immigrants to facilitate cultural assimilation and an artistic version, a reactionary response to those same immigrants by the “native” Argentinians:

El uso del *cocoliche*, o español imperfecto, hablado por los inmigrantes italianos ayudó seguramente a la comunicación entre inmigrantes y argentinos, facilitando la entrada de elementos españoles e italianos en dos variedades de ese lenguaje imperfecto: (1) el *cocoliche real*, resultado de la transferencia de italianismos al español por parte de los inmigrantes italianos y (2) el *cocoliche folklórico*, surgido del intento por parte de los argentinos de imitar el habla de los inmigrantes italianos, muchos estereotipados en los sainetes de época. (Lorenzino 351)

It is not unexpected that this unusual, but necessary, mixture of language varieties would provoke ridicule among the *criollo* Argentinians or the type of disdain as seen in the definitions given at the beginning of this section. Even before *cocoliche* came to be denominated *cocoliche*, it was the butt of parody and material for authors and playwrights. The oldest known piece written in *cocoliche* was an article written by Estanislao del Campo, titled “Ina dansa” and originally published in 1862, but rediscovered in a 1908 edition of “Caras y caretas (Barcia, qtd. in Conde *Lunfardo* 179). A little more than twenty years later, Lehmann-Nitsche gives evidence of literary parody from Montevideo found in the works of Ramón Romero from 1885 (Lehmann-Nitsche 7). The most widely circulated account of the origins of the term *cocoliche*, however, is circus performer Celestino Petray’s characterization of this speech pattern in an 1890 production of *Juan Moreira* in which he supposedly declared on stage: “Mi quiamo Cocoliche e sono creolio hasta lo güese da la taba e la canilla de lo caracuse, amico.” [My name is Cocoliche and I’m a *criollo* down to my toes and the marrow of my bones, friend] (Conde *Lunfardo* 178; Gobello *Aproximación* 233). This account has been called into question, both regarding the premier of the character *Cocoliche* and the origins of the supposed surname (Conde *Lunfardo* 178).

Regardless, for Gobello, there is no question that *cocoliche* also has a place as “lenguaje literario”:

La imitación paródica del habla de los inmigrantes italianos fue un recurso cómico habitual en los sainetes, y en ocasiones se empleó en situaciones dramáticas, particularmente en piezas escénicas del género llamado grotesco. (Gobello *Aproximación* 233)

Through the vehicle of the theater, therefore, *cocoliche* simultaneously made its contribution to *lunfardo* and to tango, and its historical contribution to both is important to the understanding of gender in the lyrics. But primarily, Gobello saw it as the speech of the Italian immigrant, as multifaceted as the people themselves:

Digamos que el *cocoliche* es el habla mixta de los inmigrantes italianos en el Río de la Plata. Esa habla presenta muchas variedades, según sea el lugar de origen de los hablantes, su grado de cultura, su facilidad para adecuarse al nuevo medio lingüístico. No hay, entonces [sic], un *cocoliche*, sino varios. Puede haber un *cocoliche* genovés y otro calabrés, uno muy distanciado del castellano —o *la castilla*, como decían los inmigrantes— y otro más próximo. (Gobello *Aproximación* 227)

There is no discrete list of terms from *cocoliche*. Although words such as *mina* or *pibe* may occasionally be identified as *cocoliche*, they are more representative of the types of Italianisms that carried over from the language acquisition process embodied by *cocoliche* to the vocabulary that became *lunfardo*. In addition to *cocoliche* two other similar, intermediary sociolects were *valesco* and *farruco*, however there are no representations of these etymologies in the corpus.

Argots, Jargons, and Anti-Languages

Furbesco

Furbesco is an anti-language that was found in central Italy dating from 1549, also known as “*gergo della mala vita*” (Conde *Lunfardo* 162; Gobello *Aproximación* 161). By 1902 in Buenos Aires, Italians constituted 30% of the incarcerated population of the Penitenciaría Nacional (La Nueva), but this, according to Gobello, does not necessarily signify that all *furbesco* terms were brought to Buenos Aires by criminals (Gobello *Aproximación* 169).

Table 17 *Examples from Furbesco*

Lunfardo term	Borrowed from	Original term	Meaning in original language	Meaning in lunfardo
<i>mayorengo</i>	Furbesco	<i>maggioreng</i>	magistrate	high-ranking police officer (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 218; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 164)
<i>mina</i>	Furbesco	<i>mina, miniera</i>	woman	woman (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 221; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 164)
<i>pibe</i>	Furbesco	<i>pivello</i>	(male) child, boy, (male) youth	(male) child, boy, (male) youth (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 257; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 166; Terrera 124)

Argot

Argot is given here in its archaic sense of the French anti-language, rather than the general meaning of “jargon.” According to Gobello, “Más de la mitad de los pocos préstamos argóticos al lunfardo corresponden al *argot de milieu*, es decir, a la jerga del proxenetismo y la prostitución.” (Gobello *Aproximación* 176)

Table 18 *Examples from Argot*

<i>Lunfardo term</i>	<i>Borrowed from</i>	<i>Original term</i>	<i>Meaning in original language</i>	<i>Meaning in lunfardo</i>
<i>fifi</i>	Argot	<i>fifils</i>	baby boy	fop, dandy, poseur (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 192; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 170)
<i>franela</i>	Argot	<i>fair flanelle</i>	To go to a brothel to spend time without engaging the prostitutes	client who spends time talking to prostitutes without spending any money (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 192)
<i>gigoló/yigoló</i>	Argot	<i>gigoló</i>	a prostitute's lover	a young lover of a mature woman; a man kept by a woman (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 192; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 170; Terrera 125)
<i>michet/mishé</i>	Argot	<i>miché</i>	a mature man who pays for the favors of a young woman	a mature man who pays for the favors of a young woman (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 192; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 171)

Caló (Romani)

Caló is a language or *argot* of the Romani people of Spain, and is not to be confused with *caló porteño*, an early name for what is now called *lunfardo*. According to Conde and Gobello, very few words actually came directly from the Romani people; most of the relatively scarce terms that found their way into *lunfardo* were brought from Spain in *sainetes* and the *género chico* (Conde *Lunfardo* 220; Gobello *Aproximación* 190). There are slightly more than 30 terms from *caló* in the entire *lunfardo* lexicon (Conde *Lunfardo* 224).

Table 19 *Examples from Caló*

<i>Lunfardo term</i>	<i>Borrowed from</i>	<i>Original term</i>	<i>Meaning in original language</i>	<i>Meaning in lunfardo</i>
<i>chorro/ choro</i>	Caló	<i>choro</i>	robber, thief	robber (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 225)
<i>gil</i>	Caló	<i>jily</i>	naïve; also refers to the name Gil	fool, dupe, gull; (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 172; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 191)

Germanía

At the beginning of the sixteenth century in Valencia, Spain, guilds formed an association known as the *Germanía* as part of a war against the nobility. The term is derived from the Catalan *germà*, meaning “hermano” or brother (Gobello *Aproximación* 195). As with *caló*, above, *germanía* was also principally incorporated into *lunfardo* via the *género chico* and constitutes approximately 40 terms in the *lunfardo* lexicon (Conde *Lunfardo* 220), although Gobello stated that he had only found six, *taita* being the only gendered term among them (Gobello *Aproximación* 202-204).

Table 20 *Examples from Germanía*

Lunfardo term	Borrowed from	Original term	Meaning in original language	Meaning in lunfardo
garabo	germanía	<i>garabo</i> ; a contraction of <i>garabato</i>	youth (male), boy	hombre joven (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 221)
<i>ladrillo</i>	germanía	<i>ladrillo</i>	thief	thief (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 221)
taita ¹²⁹	Latin, germanía	<i>tata</i>	father	thug; a man who is feared and respected for his bravery (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 296; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 204)

Metathesis in Lunfardo: el Vesre

Of the many forms of metathesis employed by *lunfardo* to create new lexemes, the most commonly discussed and popular is *vesre*, also sometimes referred to as *verres* (both are anagrams of the word *revés*). As the name implies, a standard or a *lunfardo* term is rearranged to create a new word, the most common method being the removal of the last syllable and placing it at the front of the word, as in the word *vesre* itself (Gobello *Aproximación* 211).

Vesre is composed of a relatively fixed set of words, although theoretically any word from Spanish can be converted to a *vesre*; it simply happens that some words lend themselves to this metathesis more than others, and certain terms have come to be accepted while others have not. Due to this, only about two-hundred and eighty *vesre* terms have survived (Conde *Lunfardo* 324).

¹²⁹ As with *bagre* (Table 19), *taita* is another example of a *lunfardo* term that is widely disseminated in Latin America, and which may have evolved in meaning or become a colloquialism in other Spanish-speaking countries. However, I am only discussing its etymology as a *lunfardo* term in this thesis and its unique meaning in this context. Again, see section 4.2.2 for discussion of the criteria for determining whether a term is considered to be *lunfardo* or standard Spanish.

Teruggi states that *vesre* first appeared in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and was widely used for comic effect in *sainetes* and popular theater between 1910 and 1940, when it fell out of usage, with the exception of a few terms (Teruggi 79). Argentinian *vesre* has also been compared to “back slang” from British English and the French *verlan* (Teruggi 82-3). Indeed, Gobello insists that “El *vesre* ingresa en el lunfardo por el costado de la delincuencia” (Gobello *Aproximación* 212). However, it seems more probable that it was valued more for its comedic potential than for secrecy.

The various means of forming a *vesre* word are discussed extensively by Conde (*Lunfardo* 322-40); it is only necessary here to show a few of the gendered examples.

Table 21 *Examples of Vesre*

<i>Vesre term</i>	<i>Original term</i>	<i>Meaning in lunfardo</i>
<i>camba</i>	<i>bacán</i>	wealthy man (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 82; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 214)
<i>dorima</i>	<i>marido</i>	husband (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 132; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 213)
<i>jermu</i>	<i>mujer</i>	wife, fiancée, but not <i>mujer</i> in general (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 325)
<i>nami</i>	<i>mina</i>	woman (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 329)
<i>ñorse</i>	<i>señor</i>	Mr., master (Conde <i>Lunfardo</i> 330)
<i>orre</i>	<i>reo</i>	an idler; adj.: lazy (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 237; Teruggi 79)
<i>shofica</i>	<i>cafisho</i>	pimp (Conde <i>Diccionario</i> 290; Gobello <i>Aproximación</i> 213)

3.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to illustrate the interrelated nature of the development of tango lyrics both as cultural and linguistic phenomena, corresponding to the overarching question of gendered discourse in tango lyrics. As has been demonstrated, minimally these lyrics can trace their origins from early post-independence popular music, evolving through *candombes* of Afro-descendant origin, *comparsas*, gauchesque *payadas*, proto-tangos and bawdy *textos eróticos*, and *tango prostibulario*, to the *lunfardo*-laced iconic lyrics recognized as “modern” tango.

Similarly, an amalgamation of cultures and languages led to the emergence of *lunfardo* as a unique linguistic phenomenon, which subsequently has had a direct bearing on the formation of tango's gendered discourse, as will be substantiated in the following chapter. In symbiosis with tango, "the use of lunfardo invested the poetics of tango with an innovative character that permitted it to differentiate itself from other vocal genres of its day" (Conde "Lunfardo in Tango" 47). *Lunfardo* as a unique linguistic variety is the key factor in establishing gendered discourse in tango lyrics, as will be shown in the next chapter.

Chapter Four. Statistical Results and Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction

Lunfardo has been associated with tango lyrics since their earliest manifestation, arguably constituting their predominant linguistic feature, and relationships between genders underlie the primary themes in the songs. The data from this research shows specifically that *lunfardo* terms and those that designate female gender are indeed critical to the construction of discourse prosodies in the lyrics. This chapter will show the results of the data analysis, in which significant results were obtained for the effects of the variables Variety and Gender upon the formation of discourse prosodies pertaining to men and women in the lyrics. It will examine the relative frequencies of the terms in the corpus and their impact on the data. Additionally, it will discuss the significant tendencies of the aforementioned variables in determining the affect of the discourse prosodies. What follows is a detailed analysis of the data subsets and their patterns that may be extrapolated from the statistical results and which further verify the process by which *lunfardo* and female terms establish these gendered prosodies.

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 Construction of the Tango Lyrics Corpus

As per the norms for presenting scientific data, the specific methodology of the data gathering and analysis is presented here rather than in chapter one. Sketch Engine, a web-based corpus tool for text analysis (Kilgariff et al.), was chosen as the primary tool for this study because it has proven to be effective in lexicography (Ferraresi et al. 22), language learner research (Thomas “Using Corpora” 2) and corpus linguistics research (Thomas *Discovering English* 366). In this research I have chosen the option of uploading texts consisting of 285 tango lyrics in total, comprising a corpus of 48,681 words, rather than using existing corpora or the WebBootCaT

feature.¹³⁰ It should be noted that this is the first linguistic corpus of tango lyrics, and although it currently represents only a small portion of extant tango texts, I plan to expand it in the future.

Once the lyrics were selected, as described in chapter one, section 1.2, the next step was to digitalize these into a format compatible for uploading to Sketch Engine. In addition to the print resources provided by Gobello (*Letras*) and Romano (*Las letras*), the vast majority of the selected lyrics appear on the website Todotango.com (García Blaya et al.), while Hermanotango.com (Sibilin) has proven to be another invaluable resource for the process of digitalizing the texts. Scanning and digitalizing texts from the print sources would have been an extremely time-consuming process, so the decision was made to extract as many as possible from the websites. As merely selecting and copying the lyrics from these websites would render a text littered with underlying html code, a bespoke screen scraper program was used to extract the raw text, saving it in a .csv (comma separated values) file format, which was then converted to .txt (Plain Text). These files were then proofread for orthographic and lexical accuracy, comparing them against the texts in Gobello (*Letras*) and Romano (*Las letras*) where available.¹³¹ Ideally, primary source documents in the form of original sheet music as archived in the Academia Porteña de Lunfardo (*Academia Porteña*) the Academia Nacional del Tango, or the Biblioteca Nacional Mariano Moreno, would provide the standard for textual accuracy, however it is beyond the scope of this present research to access those documents. Additionally, both Gobello and Romano, as stated in chapter one, have transcribed and proofread these lyrics in their

¹³⁰ While it would have been possible to create a corpus using the WebBootCaT, which entails a web-based extraction of texts generated from seed words from sites such as todotango.com, this would not have rendered the type of tango corpus that I wished to create. Aside from superfluous text from the website, the lyrics would not have been separated into discrete texts and could not have been tagged with the metadata that was necessary for this study and for future research.

¹³¹ As stated in chapter one, a small percentage of the lyrics were not found in Romano or Gobello; these were only scrutinized for general typographical errors such as those occasionally found on the websites. Where images of original sheet music with lyrics were available on the websites, these were used as the standard for accuracy. Ideally original authors' documents or first editions of published sheet music should be the standard for textual accuracy, however, with the exception of a few tangos in my personal collection, this was not possible.

respective collections, and on several occasions an image of the sheet music with lyrics appears on todotango.com, which enabled verification. Later censorship of tango lyrics was another factor taken into consideration; I have made every effort to include only original (uncensored) lyrics in the corpus.¹³²

The proofread lyrics, in .txt file format, were then used to create the corpus “Tango Lyrics.” The files were uploaded, and then metadata was added containing the following information: title, musical genre,¹³³ year of composition,¹³⁴ lyricist, composer, and up to three thematic categories.¹³⁵ As male authors wrote most lyrics, metadata regarding the gender of the author was only added for female writers and/or composers. Sketch Engine then compiled the corpus utilizing the Spanish FreeLing part-of-speech tagset (Kilgarriff and Rychlý).

4.2.2 Selection of Terms for Study

Following the creation of the Tango Lyrics Corpus, the search terms for the study were selected. These were composed of three categories: 1) nouns denoting males or females in standard¹³⁶ Spanish (e.g. *mujer*, *hombre*), 2) nouns denoting males or females in *lunfardo*, taken as cultural markers, (e.g. *pebeta*, *bacán*), and 3) nouns denoting males or females that are non-*lunfardo* cultural markers (e.g. *morocha*, *porteño*).¹³⁷ Countable nouns rather than grammatical words were selected for this study as being more directly descriptive of gender. In her research on gender and

¹³² See chapter three, section 3.3.1

¹³³ At present, this only includes “tango” as a musical genre; future additions to the corpus could include *milonga*, *vals cruzado*, and so on.

¹³⁴ In most cases, the year that a given lyric was written is readily available, however that is not uniformly the case. Where the precise year is in doubt, I have used the abbreviated preposition “c” (*circa*), and on rare occasion given a date range based on available evidence. There are seven lyrics for which I have yet to find a reasonable date, but which I have included, as they must inevitably fall within the chronology of my corpus based on the author’s years of productivity or date of death.

¹³⁵ As outlined in chapter one, these are: *Personajes*, *Amor y desamor*, *Cambalache*, *Nostalgias*, and *Poética nueva*, referring to prevailing themes within a given lyric.

¹³⁶ As noted in chapter one, in the Thesis Statement section, “standard Spanish” in the context of this thesis refers to the dominant variety of Spanish found in the River Plate region.

¹³⁷ Rationale for these divisions is given later in this chapter.

agency in which she analyses collocations of body parts with regards to gender, Sally Hunt states:

[...] vocabulary [...] relates most strongly to the experiential and expressive values encoded within texts, which in turn reveal the authors' views of the world most clearly, and also their beliefs regarding the elements of the world that they mention and their evaluations thereof. Thus these values and the ways in which they are encoded in the lexis of the data provide the strongest evidence for the gendered discourses encoded in the texts. (Hunt 269).

The initial selection of cultural markers for males and females (both *lunfardo* and non-*lunfardo*) was conducted utilizing the DRAE CD-ROM version of the Diccionario de la lengua española (RAE *DLE CD-ROM*).¹³⁸ Using the search criteria «Sustantivo[3.13]» .Y. («germanía[6.3.2]» .O. «jergal[6.3.4]» .O. «vulgar[6.3.6]» .O. «coloquial[6.4.1]») .Y. («Argentina[2.2.4.2.3.1]» .O. «Uruguay[2.2.4.2.3.8]»), queries were made with the following lemmas: *mujer, muchacha, chica, niña, hombre, muchacho, joven, chico, and niño*, resulting in a list of non-standard (colloquial and common language, *germanía*,¹³⁹ or jargon) terms specific to Argentina and Uruguay, 30 denoting males and 23 females. This list was checked against the corpus and any terms not appearing therein were discarded; the resulting list of 15 terms for males and 11 for females was saved to an Excel spreadsheet and included in the final search term lists.¹⁴⁰

Additionally, while compiling the corpus data, I noted terms for males and females, including standard nouns, *lunfardo* cultural markers, and non-*lunfardo* cultural markers. This was done as most *lunfardo* and some colloquial terms are not recognized by the RAE, even in its *Diccionario de americanismos* (ASALE). Terms that were initially identified as potential cultural markers and as potentially *lunfardo* were

¹³⁸ The CD-ROM version allows detailed searches that are not available on the current *Diccionario de la lengua española* (RAE *DLE*) website. As the *DLE* is the definitive Spanish language dictionary, it was imperative to begin with this resource.

¹³⁹ As defined in chapter three, *germanía* refers to the criminals' jargon originating in Spain.

¹⁴⁰ Complete lists of all search terms are stored in the data files.

later analyzed to confirm or refute this distinction. This was done in order to ensure that the most complete identification possible was made of all cultural terms to be studied. However, non-*lunfardo* cultural markers were ultimately deleted from the final study list, as will be discussed further in the chapter. As stated in chapter three (section 3.3.1), the symbiotic relationship between tango and *lunfardo* render this variety apposite to an analysis of gendered discourse in the lyrics.

Determination of whether or not a term may be considered *lunfardo* is based largely on its inclusion in or exclusion from Oscar Conde's *Diccionario etimológico del lunfardo* (33-326). As discussed in chapter three, earlier vocabulary lists or dictionaries, such as those of Dellepiane (*El idioma*) or Gómez (*La mala vida*), as well as José Gobello's first *lunfardo* dictionaries, have been criticized for including terms that were clearly not specifically *lunfardo* vocabulary but merely *argentinismos* (Conde *Diccionario* 11-18). Conde has reviewed all of these lists and dictionaries and effectively purged the lexicon of non-*lunfardo* terms, as well as established criteria for determining what distinguishes a *lunfardismo* from an *argentinismo*, as previously discussed in chapter three.¹⁴¹ Nevertheless, in some circumstances a word may appear as both a *lunfardo* and a standard Spanish term, the specific designation relying upon meaning in context. For example, *cantor* as a noun in standard Spanish is a singer, as an adjective it means singing, whereas in *lunfardo* it is used as an adjective meaning "que confiesa un delito propio, en común o ajeno" (Conde *Diccionario* 86). In the case of the *lunfardo* use of *viejo/vieja* to designate *padre/madre*, this was found to be also common to standard Spanish.¹⁴² For these reasons, terms whose usage in the texts was too ambiguous to clearly distinguish *lunfardo* from standard Spanish were omitted. Additionally, the RAE's online *Diccionario de americanismos* (ASALE) was consulted to establish or verify meanings and etymological roots of the terms.

¹⁴¹ See chapter three, section 3.3.2.

¹⁴² A Word Sketch query for the lemma *viejo* (POS: noun) on the Spanish Web 2011 (esTenTen11, Eu +Am) corpus yielded 8562 instances of *viejo* collocating with pronominal possessors *mi*, *tu*, and *nuestro*, indicating that this term is commonly used in standard Spanish to designate *padre/madre*.

Finally, it should be noted that in three cases (*milonga*, *mishé*, and *compadre*) it was necessary to use the lemmas to extract Word Sketches and collocation lists for other forms of those terms (*milonguita*, *milonguera*, *milonguerita*, *compadrito*, *compadrón*, and *michet*) due to limitations in Sketch Engine. In the cases of the lemmas *milonga* and *mishé*, as there was no change in meaning between the word forms, the discourse prosodies associated with each of these were tallied under the lemma. However in the case of the lemma *compadre*, although *compadrón* shares similar definitions,¹⁴³ the meanings of its other form is nuanced: e.g. *compadre*, a semi-respected or feared thug, does not represent the same male figure as a *compadrito*, a poseur who imitates the *compadre* and is often ridiculed in tango lyrics. Therefore results for the individual forms of the lemma *compadre* were calculated and analyzed separately.

The initial selection process yielded a total of 505 gendered terms. The relatively small size of the corpus overall suggests that many of these terms would appear with insufficient frequency as to provide much meaningful data for the study. Therefore, this list was significantly reduced based on the following factors. First, the decision was made to exclude all non-*lunfardo* cultural markers and to concentrate solely on cultural markers clearly designated as *lunfardo*. Originally, it was necessary to identify all cultural markers, regardless of variety, in order to properly isolate the *lunfardo* terms. However, the focus of this study is the relationship between *lunfardo* and gender in the corpus. As the dominant linguistic variety is standard Spanish, it therefore becomes the main comparator for analysis and must be included. As initial research utilizing this method, scrutinizing only *lunfardo* terms is a first stage that will lead to further research in which all cultural markers may be considered.

Second, the list was further reduced by considering the raw frequency of the search words in the corpus, as will be shown. Beginning with Sketch Engine's basic search query, each term was entered using a wildcard (asterisk) where appropriate in order to extract all possible gender forms of the lemma without eliciting unrelated

¹⁴³ See glossary.

words. Hence *mina* was searched as *mina**, rather than *min**, to avoid words such as *minga*, *minuto*, or *mintió* and render *mina* and *minas*. However, *milonga* was searched as *milong** so it would render all forms, both masculine and feminine: *milonga*, *milongas*, *milonguera*, *milongueras*, *milonguerita*, *milonguita*, *milonguitas*, *milonguero*, and *milongueros*. The results were then processed using the Frequency function. For example: “Search: *mujer*” yielded concordance lines showing 108 instances of all forms of the term; subsequently clicking on the “Frequency” tab and creating a basic frequency list yielded 88 instances of *mujer*, 16 of *mujeres*, and 4 of *mujercita*. In cases where either the part of speech (POS) tag of the term might be ambiguous (such as words that might be used as either a noun or an adjective) or in the case of polysemy, an analysis of the concordance lines was made to eliminate any ambiguities and anomalies. This data was then noted in an Excel spreadsheet where the terms were sorted by highest frequency and alphabetical order. Initially, a minimum frequency of four occurrences in the corpus was deemed the best cut-off point for including the term in the study and succeeded in reducing the list by approximately 76%. Furthermore, it was judged necessary due to restraints on the scope of this study to reduce the list again, considering only the top twenty terms in each of four categories from the corpus: Female *Lunfardo* Terms, Female Standard Terms, Male *Lunfardo* Terms, and Male Standard Terms, yielding a total of eighty terms to be examined. Details of the raw frequency data will be discussed in the data analysis section.

4.2.3 Using Sketch Engine to Extract Discourse Prosodies

Sketch Engine has been called “a leading corpus querying and corpus management tool” (Kovář 339). Three principle features of Sketch Engine, Word Sketch, Concordance, and Collocations, were used to analyze the corpus. As stated by Sketch Engine, Word Sketch is the “quickest way to learn how a word or phrase behaves”: it is a “one-page summary of a word’s grammatical and collocational behavior” (Kilgarrieff and Rychlý). A given lemma’s Word Sketch will show collocations grouped by gramrels (grammatical relations), and includes the collocates’ raw

frequencies in the corpus as well as their logDice scores, as shown in the example in Figure 1:

mujer (noun) Tango Lyrics freq = 108 (1,894.90 per million)

modifiers of "mujer"

malo +	<u>2</u>	11.09
fiel +	2	11.04
disponés	1	10.75
infecundo	1	10.75
infiel	1	10.68
pobre +	<u>5</u>	<u>10.65</u>
propio	1	10.47
misterioso	1	10.35

Figure 1 Sample of Word Sketch for *mujer*¹⁴⁴

Sketch Engine employs a variety of measures of collocation to determine the relationships between words, including T-score, MI, MI3, log likelihood, min. sensitivity, logDice, and MI.log_f.¹⁴⁵ It is important to specify which measures will be used to analyze collocations, as each is designed for different purposes. For example, the MI score measures the “strength of association between two words” (P. Baker 135) but can become skewed in instances of low frequency, as would occur in the Tango Lyrics Corpus, while the T-score and log likelihood measure the confidence for claiming an association (135). A T-score is directly affected by higher frequency, therefore may be more applicable to a larger corpus. The logDice score implemented

¹⁴⁴ Note that this figure also highlights a flaw in Sketch Engine’s processing of this corpus. *Disponés* is not an adjective, but rather the grammatical variation of the second person singular conjugation of the verb *disponer* common to the River Plate region, i.e. the conjugation for the subject *vos*. Sketch Engine has not been calibrated to recognize either this grammatical variety or the lexical variety of *lunfardo*. When errors of this type occurred, manual adjustments were made to mitigate them.

¹⁴⁵ For detailed descriptions of these scores and their uses, see “Statistics used in Sketch Engine” at <https://www.sketchengine.eu/documentation/statistics-used-in-sketch-engine/>.

by Sketch Engine in 2006 (Kilgarriff and Rychlý) appears to have solved several of these problems, chiefly in that it is not affected by the size of the corpus. Given these considerations and its inclusion in the Word Sketch, the logDice score was chosen for this study as a measure of collocational confidence. Further to understanding and analyzing the significance of the logDice score, the following features should be noted:

- “Theoretical maximum is 14, in case when all occurrences of X co-occur with Y and all occurrences of Y co-occur with X. Usually the value is less than ten” (Rychlý 9). This indicates that the closer the logDice score is to 14, the more confidence can be obtained that the two words are collocates. Indeed, the majority of the scores obtained in this study were greater than eight and many were greater than ten.
- “Value 0 means there is less than 1 co-occurrence of XY per 16,000 X or 16,000 Y. We can say that negative values means there is no statistical significance of XY collocation” (9). No zero or negative values were present and therefore were not considered in this study.
- “Comparing two scores, plus 1 point means twice as often collocation, plus 7 points means roughly 100 times frequent collocation” (9). The difference between logDice scores has not been considered.
- “The score does not depend on the total size of a corpus. The score combines relative frequencies of XY in relation to X and Y. All these characteristics are useful orientation points for any field linguist working with collocation candidate lists” (9). This feature makes the logDice score particularly apposite to this study as the Tango Lyrics Corpus is comparatively small with regards to reference corpora such as the Spanish Web 2011 (esTenTen11, Eu +Am).

The overarching justification for employing the logDice score as a measure of statistical confidence is given in this summary: “The *logDice* score has a reasonable interpretation, scales well on a different corpus size, is stable on subcorpora, and the values are in reasonable range” (9). It is the theoretical maximum that is particularly useful as it gives a fixed value to which the logDice score of any given word

combination may be compared, thereby allowing the researcher to interpret the confidence level of the collocation (Gablasova et al. 164).

In analyzing the words that collocate with the search terms in this research, it is important to know to what degree we can be confident that two words are, in fact, collocates, thereby leading to a higher degree of confidence that these collocates provide evidence of discourse prosodies. Hunt emphasizes the importance of collocations as “their tendency to be below the level of consciousness” and being “capable of conveying meaning implicitly, often via the evaluative component of semantic prosody” (270). Therefore, while no minimum logDice score was set for the terms under consideration, those having higher scores (closer to 14) were given greater weight in the analysis as being the more likely to reveal a discourse prosody. It should also be noted that these logDice scores evidencing a collocational relationship are not dependent upon *a priori* assumptions about an author’s need to meet requirements regarding meter or rhyme in the lyrics, but rather give *a posteriori* substantiation of the confidence for claiming that said collocations do, in fact, exist. In other words, the fact that a lyricist may have chosen a given word to conform to the meter or rhyme has no bearing in this study on whether or not that word displays a measurable collocational relationship with another in the text.

In setting the parameters for the Word Sketches, only one change was made from the standard settings: the “Minimum frequency for multi-word sketch links” was set at 2 rather than 100, due to the small size of the corpus; however, this feature (multi-word sketch links) did not prove to be useful and was not employed. In several instances, particularly in the cases of low-frequency terms, a collocation query¹⁴⁶ for those terms was made in addition to the Word Sketches. Again, this was due to the fact that the small size of the corpus led to limited results in some Word Sketches. The parameters for the collocates search were set as follows in Table 22:

¹⁴⁶ In Sketch Engine, following a simple query for a word in the corpus, a search may be made for collocations with that term, the parameters of which are outlined in Table 22.

Table 22 *Sketch Engine Parameters for Collocates Search*

<i>Parameter name</i>	<i>Setting</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
Attribute	lempos	Returns results for the lemma with POS tag on collocates
In the range from	-5 to 5	Searches within 5 words to the left of the node word and 5 words to the right of the node
Minimum frequency in corpus	1	Set at lowest value due to small corpus and small expected frequencies
Minimum frequency in given range	1	Same as above
Show functions	logDice	Selected measurement of collocation
Sort by	logDice	Sorted from highest to lowest logDice score

In a larger corpus, such as the Spanish Web 2011 (esTenTen11, Eu +Am) (Kilgariff and Renau) consisting of roughly 9.5 million words and found in Sketch Engine, the results of a Word Sketch might be sufficient to provide some indication of discourse prosodies; even so, at best it merely gives data on frequencies and position of collocates. It is therefore necessary to also look at the concordance lines in order to be able to extract the relationships between the collocates and the search terms (P. Baker 112). Bearing in mind that to be considered a discourse prosody the semantic feature must appear “over more than one unit in a linear string” (Stubbs 64-65) as discussed in chapter one,¹⁴⁷ concordance lines generated from the Word Sketches were examined, semantic relationships were noted, and multiple occurrences of the

¹⁴⁷ See section 1.1.2.

latter were marked as probable discourse prosodies. Ultimately, a discourse prosody was included if it displayed a minimum frequency of three and was distributed over at least two of the data subsets, consisting of the four categories mentioned previously, namely Female *Lunfardo* Terms (FL), Female Standard Terms (FS), Male *Lunfardo* Terms (ML), and Male Standard Terms (MS). In all, thirty discourse prosodies were identified, twenty-four of which could be applied to either male or female gender, three to male, and three to female gender. The complete list of discourse prosodies may be seen in Appendix 1 and will be discussed in the analysis section. In addition to the four data subsets listed above, four additional sets were created: All *Lunfardo* Terms, All Standard Terms, All Female Terms, and All Male Terms. All eight of these data subsets were housed under the main data set titled All Gendered Terms.¹⁴⁸

As stated in chapter one, identifying discourse prosodies can be a highly subjective process (P. Baker 114), therefore careful consideration was given to the lexical meaning of each search term and collocate, as well as to their contextual meanings. In many cases these were straightforward, however in several others greater consideration was required, as shown in the following two tables. For example, in Table 23 the first column shows the Word Sketch lemma, *mujer*, the second shows some of its collocates, and the third shows text from the concordance lines. Discourse prosodies were identified through the patterns that were discerned from the initial notes taken on these concordance lines, as can be seen in the fifth column; in this case the discourse prosody was evident. The generalized form of the discourse prosody, (B): *A/n X or Y is bad or displays immoral traits* can be read by replacing “X or Y” by the term *mujer*, which then can be interpreted for that particular term: “a *mujer* is bad or displays bad or immoral traits.”

¹⁴⁸ Hereafter the data sets (All *Lunfardo* Terms, All Standard Terms, All Female Terms, All Male Terms, Female *Lunfardo* Terms, Female Standard Terms, Male *Lunfardo* Terms, Male Standard Terms) will be designated as follows: AL, AS, AF, AM, FL, FS, ML, and MS, respectively.

Table 23 *Example of Collocates Identifying a Discourse Prosody for MUJER*

Lemma	Collocates	Amplified text	logDice Score	Discourse Prosody
<i>mujer</i>	<i>peña</i>	“la mujer es dura peña” Line 23: “Mi papito” (Gobello <i>Letras</i> 146-47)	13.99	A <i>mujer</i> is bad or displays bad or immoral traits
<i>mujer</i>	<i>mala</i>	“Una mala mujer que lleva el veneno” Lines 20-21: “El huracán” (N. López); “mentiras de mala mujer” Line 27: “Mentira” (Flores)	11.09	
<i>mujer</i>	<i>mal</i>	“el mal de esas mujeres” Line 35: “Viejo rincón” (Gobello <i>Letras</i> 93-94; Romano 81-82)	10.24	
<i>mujer</i>	<i>veneno</i>	“Una mala mujer que lleva el veneno escondido” Lines 20-21: “El huracán”	8.22	

When the lexical meaning of a collocate might be considered ambiguous (whether due to such semantic factors as polysemy or rhetorical devices such as irony) contextual meaning was derived from the concordance lines or from greater extracts of the texts, as necessary. Three examples illustrate this process. In the first example involving the lemma *pebeta* (Table 24), the collocating adjective *coqueta* might be deemed ambiguous as to its implications of acceptable behavior for women. Coquettishness may be viewed as a positive trait indicating a vibrant, likeable personality, or it may be viewed as a negative trait indicating promiscuity or deceitfulness. In this case, an examination of the concordance line was imperative to determine that being *coqueta* corresponded to the positive discourse prosody shown in the far right column. In the second example, while the verb *jugar* ostensibly

indicates a joyful activity, in context it implies the negativity of betrayal and therefore evinces a negative or bad lifestyle on the part of the *pebeta*. In the third example, the verb *arremangarse*¹⁴⁹ has several meanings, indicating a wordplay regarding the ambitions or aspirations of the *pebetas*: in the midst of their daydreams of love (“los ojos en curda de amor” [eyes drunk with love]) they roll up their sleeves (“se arremangan”) and prepare for their daily work as well as resolving carefully (also “se arremangan”) to set about the business of finding a husband who will one day help provide for them. It was necessary in this example to review a larger section of the text in order to extract the discourse prosody.

¹⁴⁹ ASALE gives the following definition of *arremangar(se)*: “l.1. intr. prnl. Ni, Ar, Ur. Ponerse alguien a trabajar con esmero. pop + cult → espon” (ASALE). The DRAE gives *remangar* as the definition for this verb, having the following entry: 1. “tr. Levantar, recoger hacia arriba las mangas o la ropa. U.t.c. prnl. 2. prnl. coloq. Tomar enérgicamente una resolución” (RAE DLE).

Table 24 *Example of Collocates Identifying a Discourse Prosody for PEBETA*

Lemma	Collocates	Amplified text	logDice Score	Discourse Prosody
1. pebeta	<i>coqueta</i>	“una linda pebeta / Muy elegante y coqueta” Lines 2-3: “¡Nostalgias!” (Rief)	9.71	A <i>pebeta</i> displays certain positive or good mental, emotional, qualities
2. pebeta	<i>jugar</i>	“¡si vieras qué dolor sentí pebeta / al verte así jugando con tu amor!” Lines 3-4: “Mojarrita” (Cadícamo “Mojarrita”)	8.98	A <i>pebeta</i> has a negative or bad lifestyle
3. pebeta	<i>arremangarse</i>	“ande se arremangan las lindas pebetas / que tienen los ojos en curda de amor” Lines 7-8: “Florida de arrabal” (Romano 146-47)	9.79	A <i>pebeta</i> is ambitious, strives for something

Tables 23 and 24 present only a few examples of the data collection; this method was applied to all eighty study terms. Spreadsheets recording all terms, their collocates, logDice scores, and identified discourse prosodies, along with data sets of the resulting frequency counts may be found in the data files.

4.2.4 Discourse Prosodies

As discussed in section 4.2.3 of this chapter, the presence of words showing reliable collocational tendencies with the node words (i.e. the terms for females and males) were the basis for establishing the discourse prosodies. While the majority of

the thirty identified discourse prosodies are self-explanatory (e.g. (F): *A/n X or Y is faithful*),¹⁵⁰ others require additional commentary before moving on to analysis. There are eight discourse prosodies that clearly convey either negative, neutral, or positive affect:¹⁵¹ (B): *A/n X or Y is bad or displays immoral traits*, (G): *A/n X or Y is good or displays moral traits*, (QMB): *A/n X or Y displays certain negative or bad mental or emotional qualities*, (QMN): *A/n X or Y displays certain neutral mental or emotional qualities*, (QMG): *A/n X or Y displays certain positive or good mental or emotional qualities*, (LB): *A/n X or Y has a negative or bad lifestyle or behavior*, (LN): *A/n X or Y has a neutral or normal lifestyle or behavior*, and (LG): *A/n X or Y has a positive or good lifestyle or behavior*. While those involving mental qualities and lifestyle include negative, neutral, and positive attributes, those involving moral traits do not include the neutral aspect as that particular aspect of affect was not detected in the corpus. Discourse prosody (N): *A/n X or Y used to live a certain way or have certain traits in the past* relates to nostalgia expressed in the lyrics. Regarding the objectification of gendered terms, it was deemed necessary to distinguish between clear instances of a male or female being treated as an object (e.g. “la rueda de grisetitas (line 29); “Enfundá la mandolina” (Gobello *Letras* 175-76; Romano 198-99)) versus usage of deictic words in the form of possessive pronouns such as *mi*, *tu*, *su*, etc., thus P1: *A/n X or Y is a possession or object*, is counted as a discourse prosody whereas collocations with deictic words were identified as a linguistic usage pattern and not included in this list. Discourse prosodies MOW: *A male has power over a/n X; A/n Y has power over a female* and WOM: *A/n X has power over a male; A female has power over a/n Y* look at power relationships in a broad way, whether the gendered subject is being treated as a commodity, as in “dueño de una mina”(line 2) in “Bailarín Compadrito” (Gobello *Letras* 156-7; Romano 163-4), or whether s/he is under an emotional thrall to another

¹⁵⁰ Throughout this thesis, the discourse prosodies will be identified by their acronym, followed by a statement of the discourse prosody. For the full list of the discourse prosodies and their acronyms, see Appendix 1: Discourse Prosodies.

¹⁵¹ Affect will be discussed in section 4.3.2.

person, as seen in the verse “¡Milonguera! Tu amor entregaste a un hombre” in “Pobre milonga” (Gobello *Letras* 70-72).

4.3 Discussion

4.3.1 Terms and Their Frequencies

Before examining specifically how the terms of the study form discourse prosodies through their collocations with other words in the texts, some discussion is needed regarding the descriptive analysis of the data. Although tallying raw frequencies of words in a corpus may only impart limited information about texts, nevertheless this is an important initial step before proceeding to closer examination of collocations and concordances, per corpus linguistics methodology (P. Baker 103), therefore I will return to the raw count data for the beginning of this discussion. It is important to bear in mind that the results discussed in this and subsequent sections pertain only to my Tango Lyrics Corpus of this study, however the significant results obtained make it possible to extrapolate the observed trends onto a potential corpus of all extant tango lyrics. That said, I begin with some descriptive statistics dealing with frequencies. The 505 gendered terms identified in the initial search can be categorized as follows: 191 standard gendered nouns and 314 cultural markers, which in turn consisted of 149 *lunfardo* gendered terms and 165 non-*lunfardo* gendered cultural markers.¹⁵² Of the *lunfardo* cultural markers, 55 (36.91%) were identified as female, while 94 (63.08%) were identified as male. Table 25 shows the corresponding figures from this and the other two remaining sub-categories:

¹⁵² These were subsequently eliminated, as explained previously.

Table 25 *Counts of All Gendered Terms Identified in the Corpus*

<i>Gendered Terms</i>	<i>Female %</i>		<i>Male %</i>		<i>Total %</i>	
<i>Lunfardo</i> cultural markers	55	36.91%	94	63.09%	149	29.51%
Non- <i>lunfardo</i> ¹⁵³ cultural markers	78	47.27%	87	52.73%	165	32.67%
Standard Spanish	79	41.36%	112	58.64%	191	37.82%
Totals	212	41.98%	293	58.02%	505	

After eliminating the non-*lunfardo* cultural markers, the adjusted figures are seen in Table 26:

Table 26 *Counts of Lunfardo Cultural Markers and Standard Spanish Terms Identified in Corpus*

<i>Gendered Terms</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>% of Total Terms</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>% of Total Terms</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Lunfardo</i> cultural markers	55	16.18%	94	27.65%	149	43.82%
Standard Spanish	79	23.24%	112	32.94%	191	56.18%
Totals	134	39.41%	206	60.59%	340	

¹⁵³ This includes proper nouns: 61 female and 61 male, which were eliminated as part of this category. Excluding the names, there were 17 female and 26 male non-*lunfardo* nouns as cultural markers.

Figure 2 gives a visual representation of these proportions:

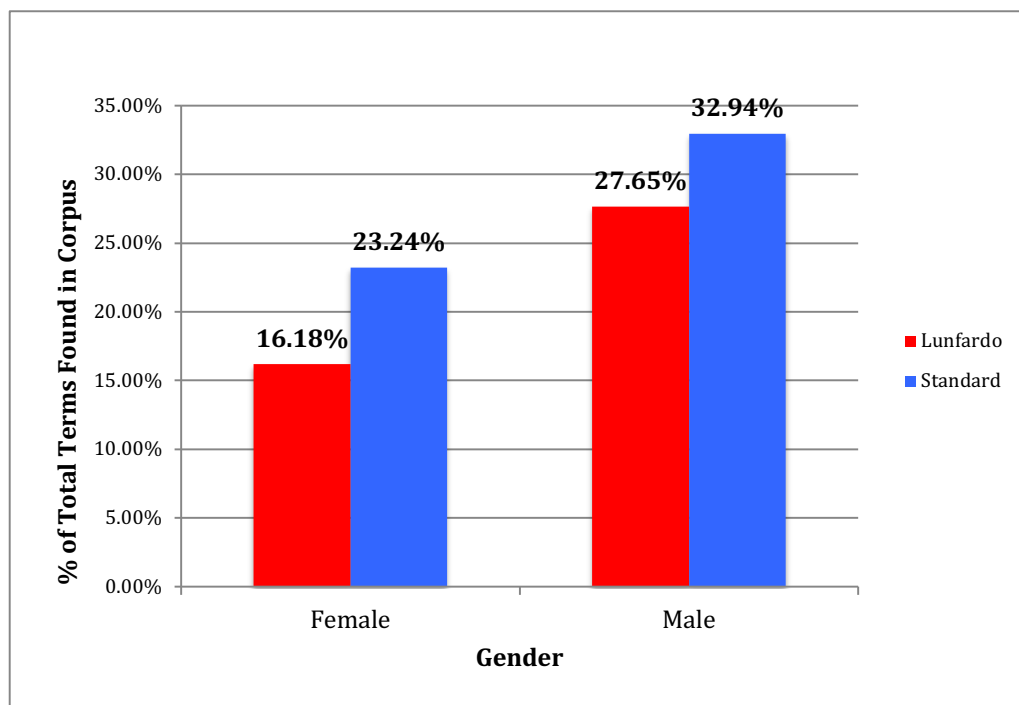


Figure 2 *Proportions of Lunfardo and Standard Spanish Terms in Corpus*

It is clear from this data that nouns referring to males, both *lunfardo* and standard Spanish, predominate in the tango corpus (60.59%), as do Standard Spanish terms (56.18%) of both genders. It is noteworthy that in this corpus, of a total of 127 individual authors of lyrics, 120 (94.49%) are male, 1 (0.79%) is anonymous, and 6 (4.72%) are female.¹⁵⁴ Given this fact, the predominance of male terms might not seem surprising, however it becomes pertinent upon considering that the lyrics are dominated by thematic categories in which the female is the object of the male gaze: 40.00% of the lyrics have as their primary theme *Amor y desamor* and 23.51% fall into

¹⁵⁴ Of the 285 lyrics in this corpus, only 12 (4.2%) were written by female authors: María Luisa Carnelli, Eloísa D'Herbil De Silva, Azucena Maizani, Rosita Quiroga, Mercedes Simone, and Herminia Velich de Rossano. Naturally, there are other female authors of tango lyrics, but their oeuvre falls outside the purview of this research. Of the six mentioned here, María Luisa Carnelli produced tangos under her own name as well as the male pseudonyms Luis Mario and Mario Castro (Cabrera).

the *Cambalache* category.¹⁵⁵ In spite of the songs in these two categories in particular ostensibly being about women, they would appear to retain the male as the focal point. The thematic categories in relation to the study terms will be discussed in detail in chapters five and six.

For ease of reference, the following tables showing the nouns of gender that were selected for this study are presented in Tables 27 and 28 along with their frequencies in the corpus.

Table 27 *Nouns Denoting Females and Males in Standard Spanish*

<i>Female Standard Terms</i>		<i>Male Standard Terms</i>	
<u>LEMMA</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>LEMMA</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>
mujer	108	hombre	76
madre	39	amigo	54
vieja	38	muchacho	51
muchacha	27	señor	25
viuda	12	mozo	22
reina	11	rey	19
amiga	10	viejo	19
chica	10	novio	18
pobrecita	10	padre	17
francesa	9	hermano	16
ingrata	9	hijo	15
nena	9	niño	14
mocosita	8	bailarín	11
moza	8	varón	11
rubia	7	loco	9
hermana	6	dueño	8
novia	6	príncipe	8
hija	5	juez	7
niña ¹⁵⁶	5	paisano	6
obrerita	5	sargento	6

¹⁵⁵ The remaining lyrics are distributed as follows: *Personajes*, 20.70%; *Nostalgias*, 11.93%; *Poética nueva tanguera*, 3.86%.

¹⁵⁶ Although nineteenth on the overall frequency list, the term *melliza* was omitted due to insufficient data on Sketch Engine (no Word Sketch or significant collocational information could be obtained). *Niña*

Table 28 *Nouns Denoting Females and Males in Lunfardo*¹⁵⁷

<i>Female Lunfardo Terms</i>		<i>Male Lunfardo Terms</i>	
LEMMA	FREQUENCY	LEMMA	FREQUENCY
milonga ¹⁵⁸	65	bacán	48
mina	48	taita	36
pebeta	36	malevo	28
paica	20	gil	22
muñeca	18	compadre	20
piba	18	compadrón	20
china	16	guapo	20
flor	15	otario	20
percanta	14	compadrito	15
garaba	10	reo	13
papusa	10	gigoló	11
bacana	7	pibe	11
loca	7	taura	11
madam	6	maula	10
callejera	5	mishe ¹⁵⁹	10
galleguita	5	botón	8
griseta	5	garabo	7
grela	4	milonguero	7
pipistrela	4	rana	7
bataclana	3	cafisho ¹⁶⁰	6

The sum of the frequencies of all the eighty study terms is 1400. Taking this figure into account, the proportions of *lunfardo* to standard and female to male coincide with the percentages given previously in Table 26. Table 29 reiterates that in the raw counts of the study terms there are still more male terms within the total frequencies, alongside greater incidences of standard Spanish terms versus *lunfardo*:

therefore moved up to nineteenth place and *obrerita* was moved up to complete the list. Two other terms (*negra*, *cantor*) were also eliminated from the above lists due to semantic ambiguity, as discussed in section 4.2.3.

¹⁵⁷ All of these *lunfardo* terms are in the glossary.

¹⁵⁸ As stated, varying forms of a given lemma having the same definition of that lemma were grouped together. Hence, additional forms of the lemma *milonga* are: *milonguita*, *milonguera*, *milonguerita*.

¹⁵⁹ Additional forms of this lemma: *micet*.

¹⁶⁰ Additional forms of this lemma: *cafishio*, *cafiso*, *cafiolo*.

Table 29 Proportions of Variety and Gender Based on Frequencies of Study Terms

Gendered Terms	Frequency: Female terms	%	Frequency: Male terms	%	Totals	Total %
Lunfardo	316	22.57%	330	23.57%	646	46.14%
Standard	342	24.43%	412	29.43%	754	53.86%
Totals	658	47.00%	742	53.00%	1400	

Figure 3 illustrates these proportions as shown by the total percentages for each data subset:

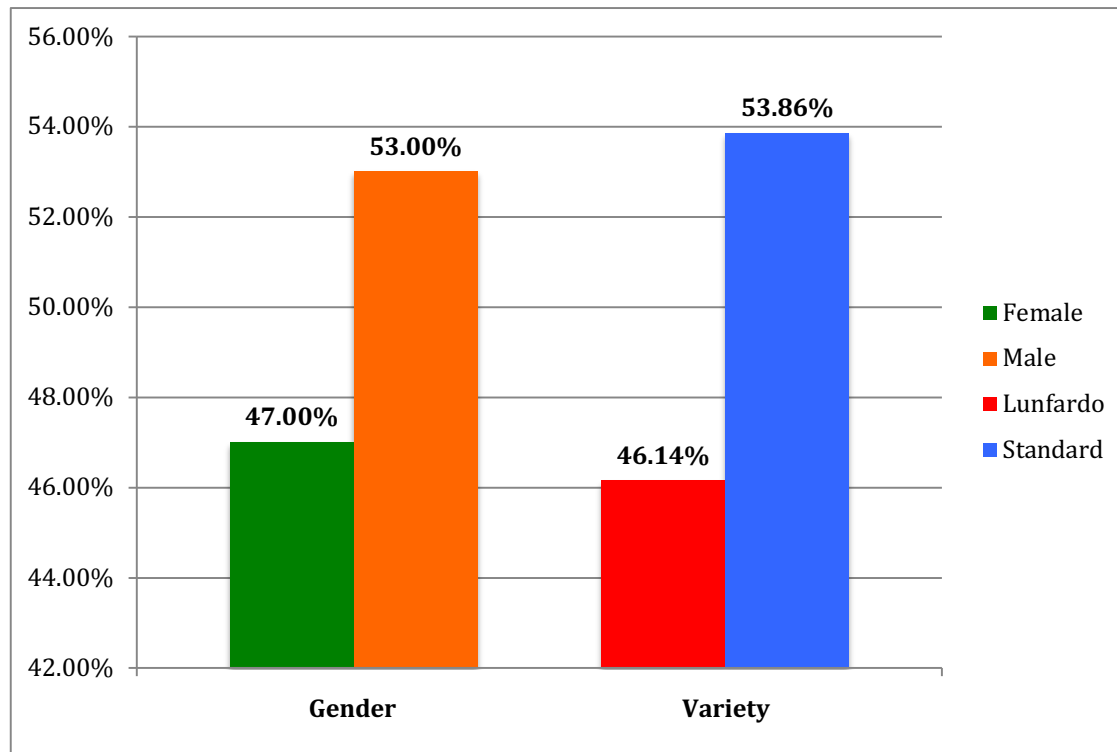


Figure 3 Proportions of Gender and Variety Based on Frequencies of Study Terms in the Corpus

This is particularly important given that the categorical factors Female and *Lunfardo* were shown to significantly predict the frequencies of discourse prosodies in the

corpus, as will be discussed in section 4.3.4. Therefore, in spite of the greater quantity of terms in the male and standard categories, both in the selection groups and in overall term frequencies, it can be concluded that female and *lunfardo* terms predominate in establishing the discourse prosodies, a fact that would not be readily apparent via traditional, non-linguistic literary analysis of the corpus lyrics and that is revealed by the specific methodology employed in this thesis.

4.3.2 Discourse Prosodies and Affect

The emotional valence, or affect, of words is often determined by studies involving participants who make evaluations on scales comprised of descriptive polar terms (such as good/bad or pleasant/unpleasant) to determine their semantic differentiation (Osgood 1-25).¹⁶¹ Ideally, following the recommendations of Bestgen (Bestgen 32-33), determining the affect of the discourse prosodies might be done by a sampling of readers and calculation of inter-judge agreement scores. Bestgen's results also indicate, however, that inter-judge agreement may not always be reliable (23). Nevertheless, not only was this methodology beyond the scope of this study, but Bestgen asserts that the strategy of using the words that compose a text to determine its overall emotional content is better suited to a lexically larger corpus (23), as is the case with the Tango Lyrics Corpus. Additionally, it was determined that the specificity of the lexicon would have rendered the task impracticable due to the difficulty of comprehension of the *lunfardo* terms. In a 2016 study, Moosekian (27, 54) states that Argentinian participants recognized only 36% of *lunfardo* words presented in a variety of texts, including tango lyrics. Therefore, determinations regarding the affect of the discourse prosodies were made based on comprehensive dictionary definitions of the search terms and their collocates, as recommended by Bestgen's findings (31), as well as their semantic applications at the sentence and textual levels.

¹⁶¹ One result was the creation of ANEW (Affective Norms for English Words) (Bradley and Lang) and its subsequent expansion to include Spanish and other languages (Shaikh et al. 1131; Hinojosa 1-14; Redondo et al. 600-05; Stadthagen-Gonzalez et al. 111-123).

All of the discourse prosodies were categorized by negative, neutral, or positive affect based on the contexts in which they were found. As will be explained in section 4.3.3, the variable Affect was ultimately not included in the statistical formula. However, it is evaluated here in terms of probability based on relative frequency, and additionally was submitted to chi square tests, as will be shown. As with the identification of the discourse prosodies, the assignment of affect may be said to be subjective, however every effort was made to mitigate researcher bias by examining the discourse prosodies in textual and historical context, thereby generalizing the tendencies toward one affect or the other, which I clarify here.¹⁶² Two discourse prosodies that might initially seem to be negative were assigned neutral affect: (WLM): *A/n X leaves a male or a place; A female leaves a/n Y* and (MLW): *A/n Y leaves a female or a place; A male leaves a/n X*, pertaining to leaving a person or place. These were regarded merely as the act of leaving in the sense of having no intent to return to a person or place, without reference to any emotional motivation for or response to that act. Prosodies (A): *A/n X or Y is materialistic, is avaricious* and (S): *A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something*, were paired as opposites, the first being considered negative and the second positive; although it could be argued that ambition can be an undesirable trait and the acquisition of wealth or material goods a worthy goal, in general these are viewed as they are presented here. And while discourse prosodies (U): *A/n X or Y is unfortunate, suffers, or is to be pitied* and (D2): *A/n X or Y is deceived* render the male/female term a victim of others or of circumstance, nevertheless they fall in to the negative category as they do not comprise conventionally happy experiences. In total, twelve (40.00%) of the discourse prosodies were found to be negative, thirteen (43.33%) were neutral, and five (16.67%) positive, as illustrated in Figure 4, which shows the percentages of the categorization of discourse prosodies by affect.

¹⁶² Again, see Appendix 1 for the complete list of discourse prosodies and their assigned affects.

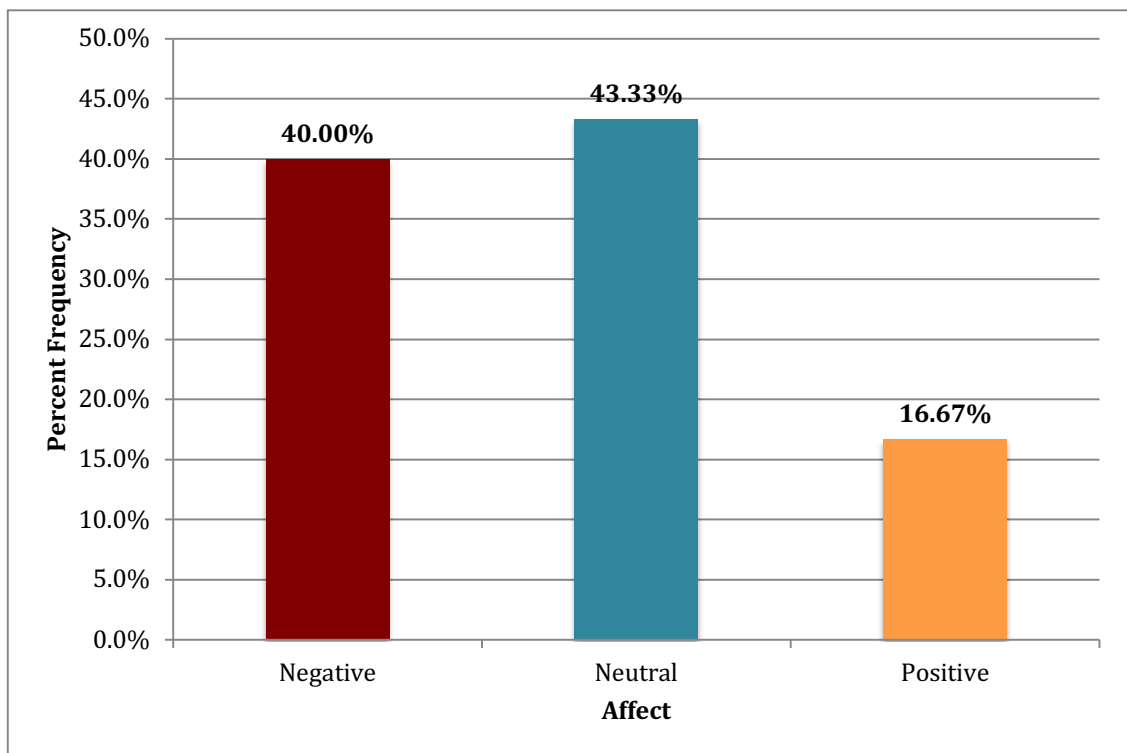


Figure 4 *Proportions of Discourse Prosodies by Affect*

The relative lack of positive discourse prosodies in the corpus is perhaps not surprising, as many tango songs involve narratives of loss and suffering, ranging from heartbreak to nostalgia for an irretrievable past. In this context, the fact that the majority of prosodies falls under a neutral affect is somewhat unanticipated; contrary to expectations, not all tango men and women are presented in a negative light in this corpus, a result that could only be quantified by this methodology. If the figures for neutral and positive affects are combined, 60% of the discourse prosodies are *not* negative; it can be concluded that, against expectations, tango lyrics are not merely songs of misery and woe. The high level of discourse prosodies having (and likely to have) a negative affect, however, will be shown to be relevant to the role *lunfardo* plays in constructing gender in tango, particularly in relation to women.

Affect by Variety

First, the data shows that discourse prosodies occur in relation to *lunfardo* terms more frequently than they do to standard terms for eighteen out of the thirty discourse prosodies identified (60.00%),¹⁶³ further suggesting *lunfardo*'s dominant contribution to forming these discourse prosodies in spite of the prevalence of standard terms in the corpus. Secondly, *lunfardo* appears with greater frequency in association with discourse prosodies that tend toward negative and neutral affects with respect to terms of gender than do standard terms. These figures are shown in Table 30; the percentages in each of the affect columns are calculated based on the totals for that column, while the overall percentage is calculated based on the total counts in the final column:

Table 30 *Frequencies of Discourse Prosodies by Affect and Linguistic Variety*¹⁶⁴

	<u><i>Negative Affect</i></u>		<u><i>Neutral Affect</i></u>		<u><i>Positive Affect</i></u>		<u><i>Totals</i></u>	
	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>
<i>Lunfardo</i> cultural markers (L)	345	60.95%	300	62.11%	124	41.75%	769	57.13%
Standard Spanish terms (S)	221	39.05%	183	37.89%	173	58.25%	577	42.87%
Totals	566	42.05%	483	35.88%	297	22.07%	1346	

Consequently, *lunfardo* has a 60.95% relative frequency ($P(L) = 345/566$) of appearing in any of the negative discourse prosodies, compared to 39.05% ($P(S) = 221/566$) for standard terms. As stated, discourse prosodies with a neutral affect have a slightly higher frequency and therefore greater relative frequency than those that

¹⁶³ Standard terms predominate in eleven discourse prosodies (36.67%), and in one instance (3.33%) both sets of terms are represented equally.

¹⁶⁴ The total differs from the sample size observations (2400) in the main formula, as the zeros are not included as counts here. In these figures I am focusing on the extant discourse prosodies, therefore zero counts are not relevant—I am only discussing the portion of the data where the discourse prosodies appear. However, in analyzing the overall data, and in order to evaluate the overall behavior of the discourse prosodies with relation to the other variables, the zero counts are relevant and therefore included in that analysis.

are negative or positive, but again, these occur with nearly twice the frequency in relation to *lunfardo* as opposed to standard terms. These relative frequencies from Table 30 are graphically illustrated in Figure 5:

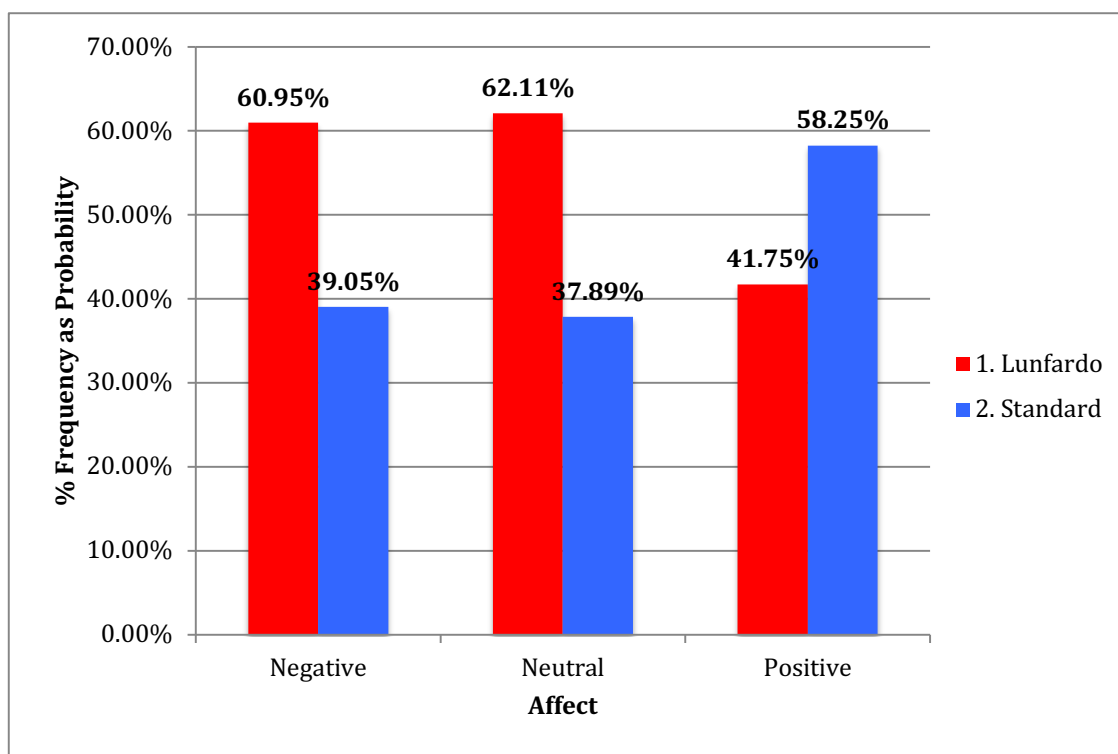


Figure 5 *Variety by Affect: Comparison of All Lunfardo & All Standard Terms*

In addition to examining relative frequencies, a chi square test was performed to examine the relationship between Variety (*Lunfardo*, Standard) and Affect, testing the null hypothesis that Variety does not determine Affect. The results proved to be significant, $\chi^2(2, N = 1346) = 36.96$, $p < .001$, thereby rejecting the null hypothesis and indicating that *Lunfardo* is more likely to predict a neutral affect, followed by negative, and finally positive, whereas Standard is more likely to predict a positive affect, followed by negative, and ultimately neutral.

Taken from a different perspective, Figure 6 illustrates this tendency expressed as mathematical probability that any word in the two data sets indicated (*Lunfardo* and Standard) will appear in discourse prosodies having negative, neutral, or positive

affects. In basic terms, any *lunfardo* term randomly chosen from the corpus has a 25.63% ($P(L) = 345/1346$) chance of being associated with a negative discourse prosody as compared to the 16.42% ($P(S) = 221/1346$) relative frequency of a standard Spanish term, and so on.

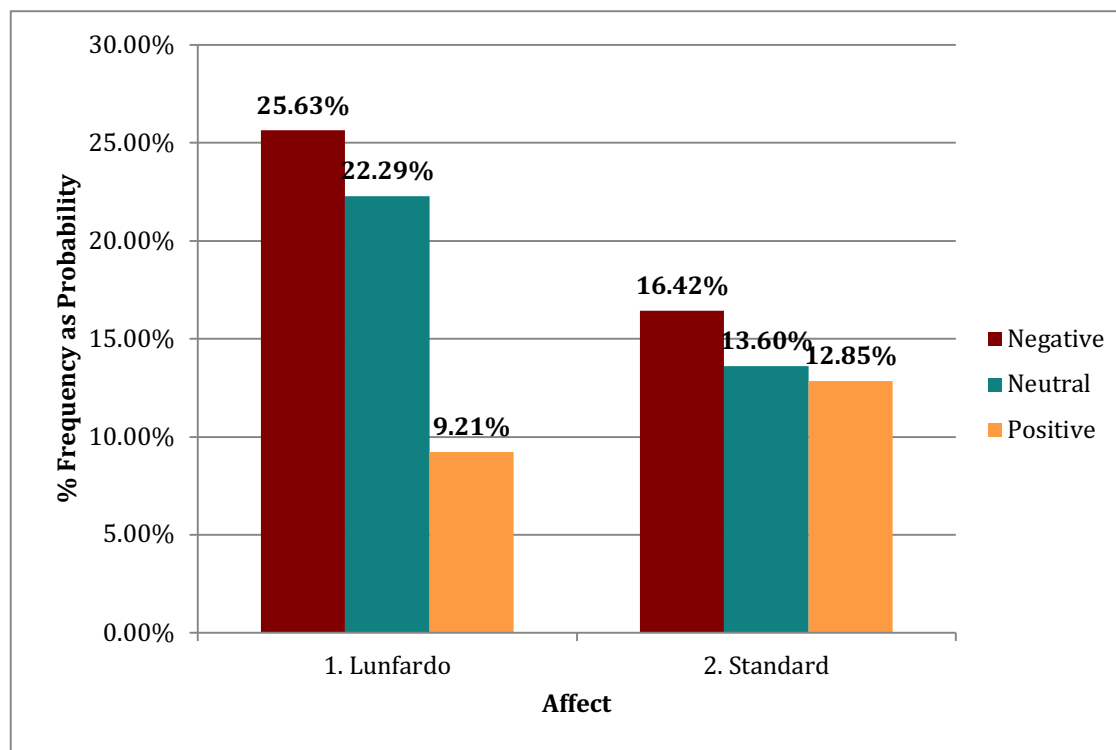


Figure 6 *Affect of Discourse Prosodies by Variety: Comparison of All Lunfardo & All Standard Terms*

Therefore, where *lunfardo* is instrumental in the formation of any discourse prosody, it will also tend to contribute to creating a neutral discourse prosody more readily than a standard Spanish term, and likewise where a discourse prosody is negative, it will tend to be represented by a gender term in *lunfardo* rather than standard Spanish in this corpus. Standard Spanish terms lend themselves to establishing a positive discourse more so than *lunfardo* terms. This suggests that similar trends may appear in a larger corpus of tango lyrics.

Affect by Gender

Again, recalling the results from the statistical analysis, gender was shown to have a significant effect on the discourse prosodies, with female gender having the greatest likelihood of having an effect. Table 31 gives the frequency counts by gender sorted into affective categories:

Table 31 *Frequencies of Discourse Prosodies by Affect and Gender*

	<u>Negative Affect</u>		<u>Neutral Affect</u>		<u>Positive Affect</u>		<u>Totals</u>	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Female terms	332	58.66%	257	53.21%	132	44.44%	721	53.57%
Male terms	234	41.34%	226	46.79%	165	55.56%	625	46.43%
Totals	566	42.05%	483	35.88%	297	22.07%	1346	

Consistently, female terms display higher relative frequencies for forming discourse prosodies that have a negative affect at 58.66% ($P(F) = 332/566$) as compared to male terms at 41.34%, ($P(M) = 234/566$). Female terms with a neutral affect are likely to appear with a relative frequency of 53.21% ($P(F) = 257/483$) versus the probability of the appearance of a male term at 46.79% ($P(M) = 226/483$). However, male terms have the greater possibility of presenting with a positive affect 55.56% ($P(M) = 165/297$), in contrast to female terms that may appear only in 44.44% ($P(F) = 132/297$) of instances. Figure 7 illustrates the probabilities that any word in the two gender data sets (Female and Male) will appear in discourse prosodies having negative, neutral, or positive affects:

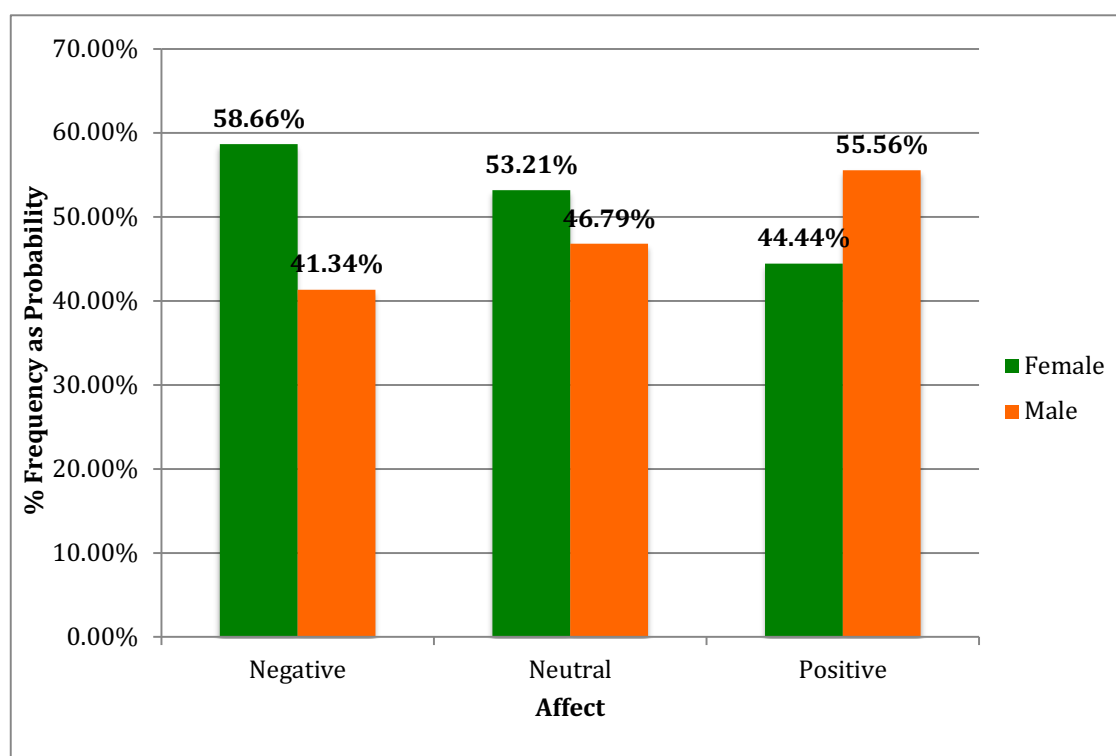


Figure 7 *Gender by Affect: Comparison of All Female & All Male Terms*

As was done for the variable Variety, a chi square test was performed to examine the relationship between Gender (Female and Male) and Affect, testing the null hypothesis that Gender does not influence Affect. The relationship between these variables was significant, $\chi^2(2, N = 1346) = 15.86, p < .001$ and therefore the null hypothesis was rejected. Female terms are more likely to predict a negative affect, followed by neutral, and finally positive. Male terms follow the opposite pattern and are more likely to predict positive, neutral, and negative affects, respectively. It is clear that women are more often presented in a negative light than a positive one in the lyrics in this corpus, suggesting that the same trend might be found in a larger corpus of all tango lyrics. Figure 8 illustrates that any female term randomly chosen from the corpus has a 24.67% ($P(L) = 332/1346$) chance of being associated with a negative discourse prosody as compared to the 17.38% ($P(S) = 234/1346$) relative frequency of a male term, and that the probability of creating a neutral prosody is slightly higher for

female than male terms, but that male terms are more likely to create a positive affect than female terms.

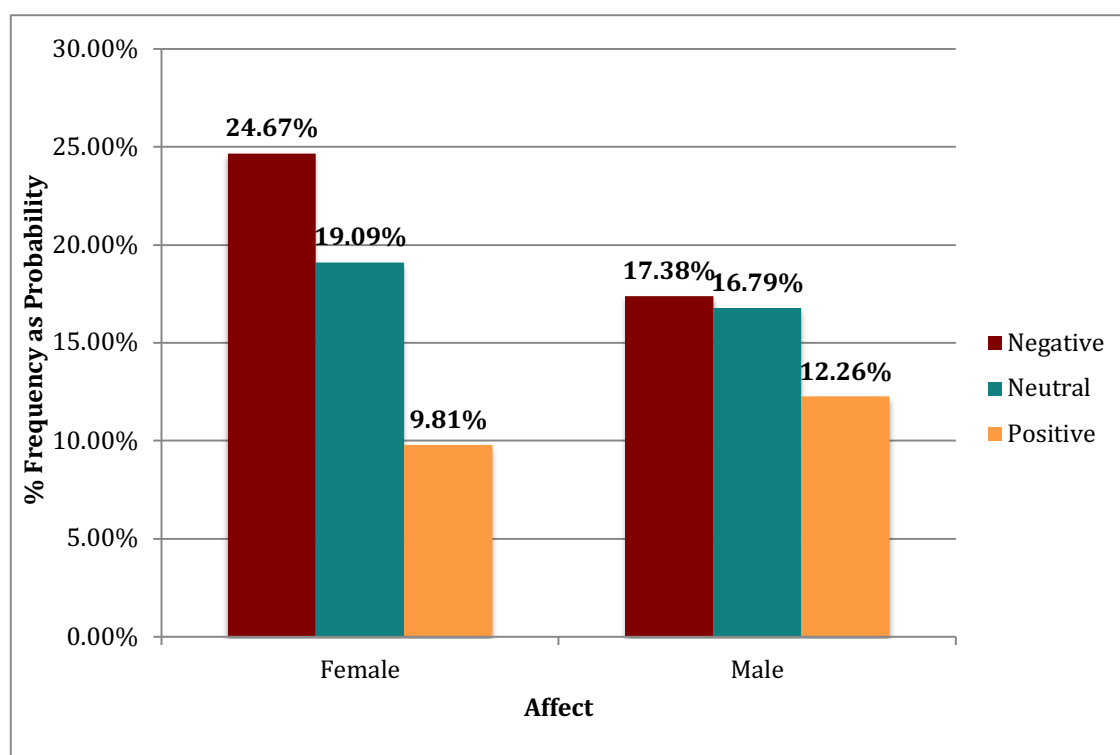


Figure 8 *Affect of Discourse Prosodies by Gender: Comparison of All Lunfardo & All Standard Terms*

Affect by Data Set

Upon examining the four data subsets (FL, FS, ML, and MS) similar trends can be observed, with specific relation to gender and variety viewed side by side. For example, FL words are the most frequent for negative and neutral discourse prosodies, ML terms outweigh the MS terms in negative prosodies, and MS words are used with greater frequency to create positive discourse prosodies. Table 32 gives the relative frequencies of each subset in the three affect groups and an analysis of the findings follows:

Table 32 *Frequencies of Discourse Prosodies by Data Set*

	<i>Female Lunfardo Terms (FL)</i>		<i>Female Standard Terms (FS)</i>		<i>Male Lunfardo Terms (ML)</i>		<i>Male Standard Terms (MS)</i>		<i>Totals</i>	
	<i>Coun</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Coun</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Coun</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Coun</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Coun</i>	<i>Percent</i>
	<i>f</i>		<i>f</i>		<i>f</i>		<i>f</i>		<i>f</i>	
Negative	210	37.10 %	122	21.55 %	135	23.85 %	99	17.49 %	566	42.05 %
Neutral	173	35.82 %	84	17.39 %	127	26.29 %	99	20.50 %	483	35.88 %
Positive	76	25.59 %	56	18.86 %	48	16.16 %	117	39.39 %	297	22.07 %
Totals	459	34.10 %	262	19.47 %	310	23.03 %	315	23.40 %	1346	

Once again, a chi square test was performed to test the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between these data sets and Affect, which was rejected as the results were significant: $\chi^2(6, N = 1346) = 61.75, p < .001$. Thus, Figure 9 illustrates the probability that randomly selected terms from each of the subsets will appear in those same groups:

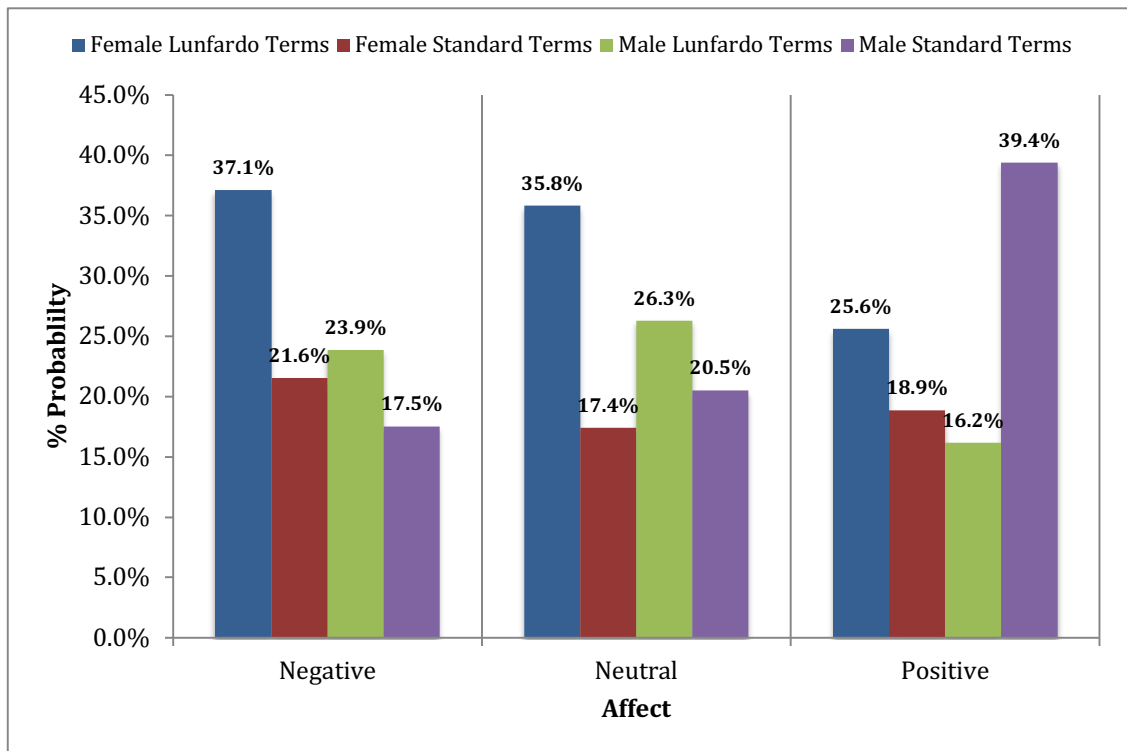


Figure 9 Comparison of Data Subsets by Affect

To give some examples of the observations that can be made from the above chart, in the negative affect group the probability that any randomly chosen term from that group will belong to the FL subset is 37.1% ($P(\text{FL}) = 210/566$). In the neutral affect group the probability for the same subset is 35.8% ($P(\text{FL}) = 173/483$), and in the positive affect group the probability that a randomly chosen term will be FL is 25.6% ($P(\text{FL}) = 76/297$). Likewise, the data from Table 32 also shows that the probability of randomly encountering a negative discourse prosody associated with a term from the FL subset is 45.8% ($P(\text{Neg}) = 210/459$), that of a neutral prosody 37.7% ($P(\text{Neu}) = 173/459$), and a positive prosody is 16.6% ($P(\text{Pos}) = 76/459$). It is clear from this data that *lunfardo* plays a pivotal role in creating all gendered discourse regardless of affect, and particularly in portraying women in a negative light, as well as contributing to negative discourse about men, while standard Spanish tends to be employed to relate positive discourses about men. Where men gain in neutral representations women are less likely to be portrayed in a neutral rather than a positive or negative light.

4.3.3 Linear Mixed Effects Model

Once the discourse prosodies were identified, quantified, and the results for Affect analyzed, it was necessary to select and fit a statistical model for testing the null hypotheses that neither Variety (*Lunfardo* and Standard) nor Gender (Female and Male) has an effect on the frequencies of discourse prosodies (DPfreq). To that end I chose a zero-inflated negative binomial (ZINB) generalized linear mixed effects model (GLMM).¹⁶⁵ Considered to be highly powerful statistical tools (Winter “Tutorial 1,” 1), linear mixed effects models are increasingly being used in the sciences and linguistics due to their versatility and robustness in dealing with data that does not fit standard linear models (Bartlett). These mixed models are particularly suited to data that is nested,¹⁶⁶ to data which may include repeated measurements of variables (Winter “Tutorial 2,” 2), or may have other issues such as zero-inflation (Zuur et al. 261); these are indeed the cases for the data in this study. Several of the variables (Variety, Gender, Affect)¹⁶⁷ each had multiple levels (e.g. Variety consisted of *Lunfardo* and Standard subsets), and are therefore considered to be nested in the data, as illustrated by Figures 10 and 11:

¹⁶⁵ For a full theoretical and practical explanation of these statistical models, see Winter and Zuur. In this chapter I will present only the basic concepts to aid the reader’s comprehension of the methodology and outcomes.

¹⁶⁶ Also referred to as hierarchical data (Bryk, 4).

¹⁶⁷ Initially, Affect (a factor with levels Negative, Neutral, Positive) was identified as a variable. It was not included in the final model for statistical calculations for the data set as this categorical variable could not have any value as a predictor; at best it is another dependent, categorical variable, which would not have an impact on the principal dependent variable, DPfreq. However, a chi square test was executed on the relationships between Affect, Variety, and Gender and the results have been discussed in section 4.3.2.

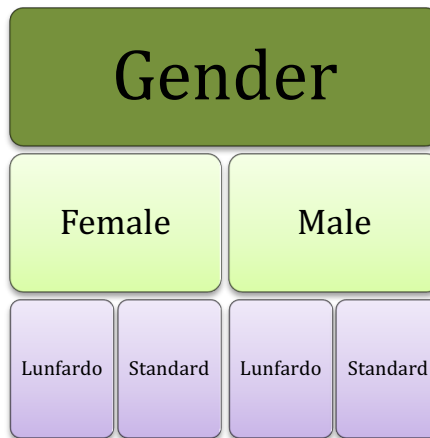


Figure 10 *Nesting by Gender*

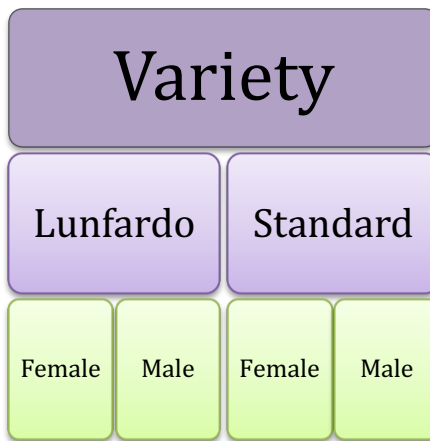


Figure 11 *Nesting by Variety*

Nested variables are essentially made up of dependent observations, violating the required assumption of independence of observations, and this “multi-stage sampling” (Snijders, 6-9) necessitates a mixed model for statistical evaluation. Additionally, multiple discourse prosodies were identified for individual terms, and are therefore repeated measurements. In a linear model, repeated measurements also violate the assumption of independence, rendering statistical results meaningless (Winter “Tutorial 1,” 20-21). Finally, as not all terms generated all discourse prosodies, there are numerous instances where the observed count of any given discourse prosody was zero; consequently the data is zero-inflated. Zero-inflation can cause

violations of the assumptions of normality and homoscedasticity manifesting as overdispersion, again leading to erroneous conclusions¹⁶⁸ based on inaccurate results (Zuur et al. 269). The particular linear mixed effects model I chose addresses all of these issues, as I will present here.

In a linear mixed effects model, there are two classes of variables that may have an effect on the outcomes of the data: fixed and random effects. Fixed effects are those variables that “are expected to have a systematic and predictable influence on your data” (Winter “Tutorial 2,” 19) and comprise part of the explanatory variables. They are the variables over which the researcher has relative control as predictors of the outcomes. In this study, linguistic variety (*Lunfardo* or Standard), gender (Female or Male), and the frequency count of each term in the corpus were determined to be the “fixed effects.”

Random effects, on the other hand, are those explanatory variables that may influence the data in a “non-systematic, idiosyncratic, unpredictable, or ‘random’” manner (Winter “Tutorial 2,” 19). This type of variable represents a sample of the larger population being examined; the researcher has little or no control over how or whether they will influence the data. To give an analogous example, any given term in this study might be equated with a subject chosen randomly for a psychological study. In that case, the researcher could not necessarily control who that random subject might be, nor is there control over how that subject might affect the data. In this study, the eighty gendered terms that were selected from the corpus and the thirty identified discourse prosodies were considered as random effects. Although the selection process of the terms was not strictly random in that the top twenty most frequently occurring terms in each subset were chosen, it was impossible to control which of the gendered words would appear in greatest number in the corpus. And while the identification of the discourse prosodies involves a subjective aspect, as discussed in section 4.2.3, those discourse prosodies in no way can be said to have a systematic effect on the data. In other words, the thirty identified discourse prosodies

¹⁶⁸ Namely Type I errors (Desagulier 163).

do not exhaust the population of interest, or all the possible discourse prosodies that might be identified in the corpus, and are therefore random effects, and the same may be said for the selected terms (Winter “Tutorial 2,” 20).

In order to set up the parameters for the model it was necessary to establish whether variables such as variety, gender, and term frequency had any effect on the likelihood that any discourse prosody would emerge from the texts. The dependent variable (response variable) that was tested was therefore the frequency count of the discourse prosodies. For the analysis, I used the statistical software R (R Development Core Team) with the packages *glmmTMB* (Brooks et al.) and *DHARMa* (Hartig)¹⁶⁹ to perform a linear mixed effects analysis on a zero-inflated negative binomial (ZINB) model (Zuur et al. 261-93) of the relationship between the frequency of the discourse prosodies in the corpus and both term variety and gender, taking into account the frequency in the corpus of the words being studied.¹⁷⁰ The data consisted of 2400 observations of seven variables, which were: DPfreq (the observed frequency in the corpus of the discourse prosodies being studied), Termfreq (the observed frequency of each study word in the corpus), Term (the eighty words of the study), DP (the thirty identified discourse prosodies), Variety (a factor with two levels: *Lunfardo* and Standard), Gender (a factor with two levels: Female and Male), and Affect (a factor with three levels: Negative, Neutral, and Positive). Ultimately, the variable Affect was not included in the final statistical formula as it was determined that, logically, it could have no bearing on the raw counts of discourse prosodies. Therefore it was omitted in order to simplify the fit model. As fixed effects, I entered Variety and Gender as interaction factors along with an offset of the term frequency (Termfreq) into the model. As random effects, I had intercepts for the terms (Term) and the discourse prosodies (DP). Table 33 summarizes the list of variables as described above:

¹⁶⁹ Citations for other R packages used to complete the statistical analysis may be found in Works Cited: R Packages at the end of this thesis, following the general Works Cited list.

¹⁷⁰ Rscripts with the programming code are stored in the data files.

Table 33 *List of Variables*

Variable name	Variable description	Type of variable¹⁷¹	Type of effect	Factor levels (where applicable)
DPfreq	Frequency count of each discourse prosody in corpus	Continuous, Dependent (Response)	n/a, Response	n/a
Termfreq	Frequency count of each term in corpus	Continuous, Independent (Explanatory)	Fixed (offset)	n/a
Variety	Linguistic variety of term	Categorical Independent (Explanatory)	Fixed	<i>Lunfardo</i> , Standard
Gender	Gender of term	Categorical Independent (Explanatory)	Fixed	Female, Male
Affect	Affect assigned to discourse prosodies	Categorical Independent (Explanatory)	Fixed	Negative, Neutral, Positive
DP	The discourse prosodies	Categorical Independent (Explanatory)	Random	30 identified discourse prosodies
Term	The terms selected for the study	Categorical Independent (Explanatory)	Random	80 terms upon which observations were made

¹⁷¹ In simple terms, continuous variables are quantitative (numerical) variables while categorical variables are qualitative (factors, non-numerical) (Desagulier 139-140).

Details of the process of fitting the linear mixed effect model may be found in Appendix 4. Summarizing, to assure that assumptions for normalcy and homoscedasticity were met, I fitted a zero-inflated negative binomial (ZINB) generalized linear mixed effects model (GLMM); the R code formula for the final model (labeled “TLD_zinb_model”) is as follows:

```
TLD_zinb_model <- glmmTMB(DPfreq ~ (Variety*Gender) +
  offset(log(Termfreq)) + (1|DP) + (1|Term), data=TLD,
  ziformula = ~1, family=nbinom1)
```

4.3.4 Statistical Results

As presented in Table 34 the final model results revealed that female terms had a significant effect on the frequencies of discourse prosodies, in both *Lunfardo* and Standard varieties, whereas male terms were only significant for *Lunfardo*, rejecting the null hypotheses for all but the Male Standard data subset. The importance of these findings will be elaborated on following the report of the statistics. Although the result for the effect of MS terms was not significant at the $\alpha = 0.05$ level, its proximity to $\alpha = 0.10$, along with the fact that the intercept slope increased by 0.38 and that the Incidence Rate Ratio (*IRR*) is >1 , suggest a possible trend that may be uncovered by the inclusion of more data from a larger corpus. An examination of the CI, or Confidence Interval, may help to understand this. The CI demonstrates a range of values where it is possible that the true parameter estimate would be found within if the population of all possible DPfreqs were examined. The true relationship is, therefore, somewhere between a slight reduction (0.92), or a probability of doubling the frequency (2.34), and this is consistent with the *IRR* value of 1.44, which falls within this range. Also, the fact that the CI for MS crosses the value of 1 is important: the interval is wider, and therefore there are more possibilities. That stated, it is harder to determine a clear direction of effect in this case. It is altogether plausible that the impact is entirely the same in MS as in the reference group (FL) in that the statistical results do not give

evidence of a difference, but neither do they confirm a similarity. In other words, the MS group behaves differently in terms of prediction of frequencies and the magnitude of the change is not sufficiently large to be distinguishable from “random noise.”

Therefore, the results for the effects of MS on DPfreqs are inconclusive.

Also evidenced in Table 34, the intercept slope for FS is lower than that of FL by $-0.58 (\pm 0.17 \text{ [standard errors]})$, $z = -3.43$), indicating that FS terms are less likely than FL terms to form a discourse prosody; the slope of ML terms shows similar decrease ($-0.51, \pm 0.16 \text{ [standard errors]})$, $z = -3.11$). Again, without further research it cannot be determined whether the increase in the slope of MS terms ($0.38, \pm 0.24 \text{ [standard errors]})$, $z = 1.60$) actually constitutes an effect. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that both the variety of a term, *lunfardo* or standard, and the categorical gender, female or male, contributed to the frequency with which any discourse prosody appeared in the corpus.

Table 34 *Statistical Results for the TLD_zinb_model¹⁷²*

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimate (b)</i>	<i>IRR</i>	<u>DPfreq</u>		<i>CI</i>	<i>p</i>
			<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>z-value</i>		
Variety Lunfardo: Gender Female (Intercept)	-3.30	0.04	0.23	-14.39	0.02 - 0.06	<2e-16
Variety Standard: Gender Female	-0.58	0.56	0.17	-3.43	0.40 - 0.78	0.000599
Variety Lunfardo: Gender Male	-0.51	0.60	0.16	-3.11	0.45 - 0.83	0.001862
Variety Standard: Gender Male	0.38	1.44	0.24	1.60	0.92 - 2.34	0.109881
Zero-Inflated Model						
(Intercept)	-1.67	0.19	0.33	-5.03	0.10 - 0.36	4.94E-07
Random Effects						
σ^2	2.17					
τ^2_{00} Term	0.11					
τ^2_{00} DP	1.07					
ICC _{Term}	0.03					
ICC _{DP}	0.32					
Observations	2400					
Marginal R ² / Conditional R ²	0.02 / 0.37					

Once the final model was fitted, *p*-values of the effects of variety and gender on discourse prosody frequencies were obtained by likelihood ratio tests of the full model with the effects in question against the model without those effects. The results showed that Variety significantly affected DPfreq ($\chi^2(2, N=2400) = 12.45, p = 0.002$),

¹⁷² For detailed explanations of the elements and abbreviations in this and other statistical tables, see Field (*Discovering*). However, brief definitions are given in Appendix 4. Note that R (the software) presents results for effects in alphabetical order, thus “Variety Lunfardo: Gender Female” appears as the first intercept and the rest are listed accordingly. I will adhere to referring to the varieties and genders as stated in section 4.2.3, e.g. FL, FS, etc.

and likewise Gender had a significant effect on DPfreq ($\chi^2(2, N=2400) = 9.76, p = 0.008$). The interaction between Variety and Gender was not significant, ($\chi^2(1, N=2400) = 2.56, p = 0.110$), however this does not necessarily negate the importance of the separate effects of these two variables (Brambor 70, 74).

Having established the significant effects of variety and gender on the frequencies of discourse prosodies tallied in the corpus, extrapolations were made onto the specific discourse prosodies and corresponding terms regarding these effects, reported as mathematical probabilities along with their Average Marginal Effects (AME).¹⁷³ It should always be understood in the ensuing discussion that these significant results are the foundation for further conclusions drawn from the data. I will continue the analysis of results with a discussion of those predictor values (Average Marginal Effects) extracted from the data. Although these values pertain specifically to the Tango Lyrics Corpus, nevertheless as they are based on the statistically significant outcomes it may be confirmed that they are reasonable predictors of how *lunfardo* may be expected to behave in any corpus of tango lyrics, highlighting the effectiveness of the linguistic corpus methodology utilized in this study. I will begin with examining the data sets in terms of the two primary variables, Variety and Gender, and then narrow the discussion to the discrete discourse prosodies, concluding with the individual terms, and dealing primarily with Average Marginal Effects.

4.3.5 Predicting the Discourse Prosodies

Effects of Data Sets, Variety, and Gender

Restating the results of the statistical calculations (Table 34, above), there were significant results for the intercept estimates of FL, FS, and ML, and the fact that the slopes of the latter two descend in sequence from the first indicates that these groups are ranked in that order from highest to lowest in their likelihood of creating discourse prosodies. MS showed an increase, suggesting a greater likelihood towards discourse

¹⁷³ See section 4.3.5 for an explanation of Average Marginal Effects.

prosodies, however this result was not significant and therefore cannot be conclusive. Nevertheless, the Average Marginal Effects (AME) for all groups were calculated in order to better understand these relationships, and the AME predictions paint a slightly different picture.¹⁷⁴

Briefly stated, the Average Marginal Effect (AME) value gives a percentage predictor of the data. The AME represents that for every 1 unit increase in *x*, the effect will increase by the predicted percent (Leeper 7). To illustrate: *piba* (the “*x*” in this case) has an AME value of 21.58%. If more texts were added to the corpus, for every 1 additional instance of *piba* appearing in the corpus, the effect of this FL term upon the *possibility* of creating any of the 30 identified discourse prosodies will increase by 21.58%. It does not guarantee that the frequency, or count, of discourse prosodies will necessarily increase by 21.58%, just that the *likelihood* that this word, being both female and *lunfardo*, will have an effect on the number of discourse prosodies that can be counted will be augmented by that percentage and therefore can be said to predict that effect. At the highest AME value of all the terms in the study, *piba* is therefore the best predictor of discourse prosodies, and its AME values may be considered as the upper limit benchmarks by which comparisons can be made with other terms, a concept that I will return to later in this chapter and again in chapters five and six. AME values were calculated at various levels: by the data subsets (FL, FS, ML, MS), by Variety (*Lunfardo*, Standard), by Gender (Female, Male), by the discourse prosodies (LB, O, etc.) and by the individual terms (*piba*, *taita*, etc.).¹⁷⁵

The AME value of the FL subset, then, is 14.24%, which can be understood as the probability that a FL term will have an effect on DPfreq increases by 14.24% for every unit increase in either a F or L term; it is still the highest ranking value. However,

¹⁷⁴ All AME figures are stored in the data files.

¹⁷⁵ In the ensuing discussion, it is important to remember this fact: a variety of AME permutations were calculated. For example, the general AME value for the term *piba* is 21.58%, however the AME value of *piba* specifically for discourse prosody (LB) is 79.18%. Likewise, the general AME value of *Lunfardo* is 89.14%, but for discourse prosody (LB) specifically the AME of *Lunfardo* is 52.24%. I will endeavor to be as clear as possible when citing these figures.

there is a change in position among the other subsets: AME(ML) = 9.83%, AME(MS) = 8.39%, and AME(FS) = 8.26%, and this ranking holds true across all discourse prosodies. While the higher prediction of ML is consistent with *Lunfardo* having a greater likelihood of having an effect than Standard, it is interesting to note that MS is larger than FS regardless of the difference between the AME values of the two subsets being small. It is possible that this is due to the higher raw counts of MS terms in the corpus, however that is unknown at this time since the MS effect was not found to be statistically significant. Figure 12 represents this result for the overall corpus where Gender is viewed as a facet of Variety (i.e. the AMEs of the genders are calculated and nested within the two varieties), while Figure 13 displays Variety as a facet of Gender. The graphics represent the exact data points of the AME values at the dots and include error bars. It is clear in Figure 12 that Female terms have the greatest predictability for discourse prosodies, and Figure 13 similarly demonstrates that *Lunfardo* terms are better predictors of the discourse prosodies in this study.

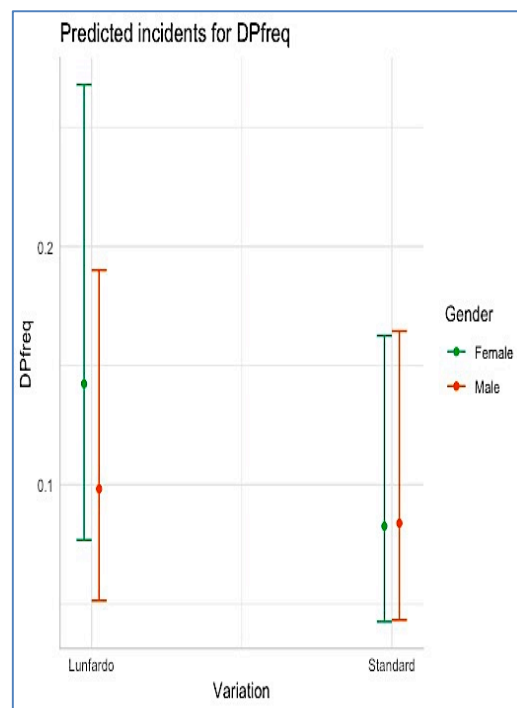


Figure 12 Gender as Facet of Variety

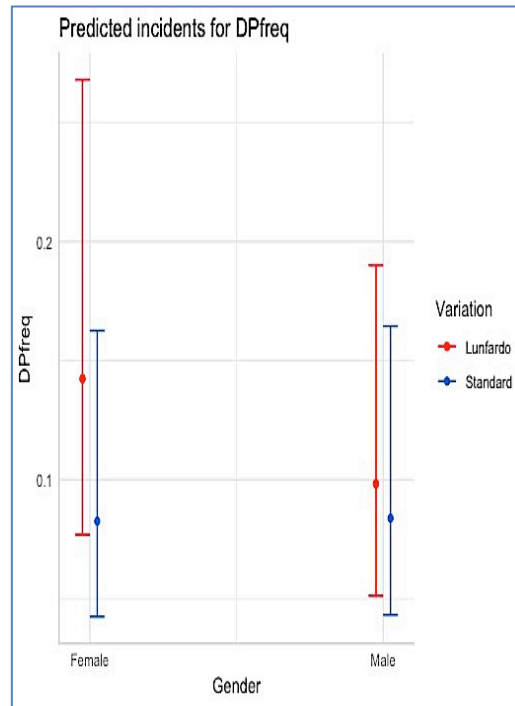


Figure 13 Variety as Facet of Gender

These tendencies are expanded in the following plots of the AME values of Gender on DPfreq (Figure 14) and the corresponding AME values of Variety on DPfreq (Figure 15), both itemized by individual discourse prosodies. In Figure 14, within each facet designating one discourse prosody, groups for *Lunfardo* may be found on the left and Standard on the right, with predictor plots for Female on the left and Male on the right within the each variety. In many of the discourse prosodies, it is difficult to visually distinguish any great differences, however others (e.g. acronyms B, G, LB, LG, O, QMB, QMG, QP, T, U, V) show clearly that Female is a stronger predictor of that discourse prosody when the term is *lunfardo*, and in many cases Male is the somewhat stronger predictor when the term is standard (e.g. B, D1, G, LG, MOW, O, QMG, QPT, V). Figure 15 shows similar plots of AME values, however the groups and predictor variables are reversed, and reveals *lunfardo*'s predominance in the various discourse prosodies.

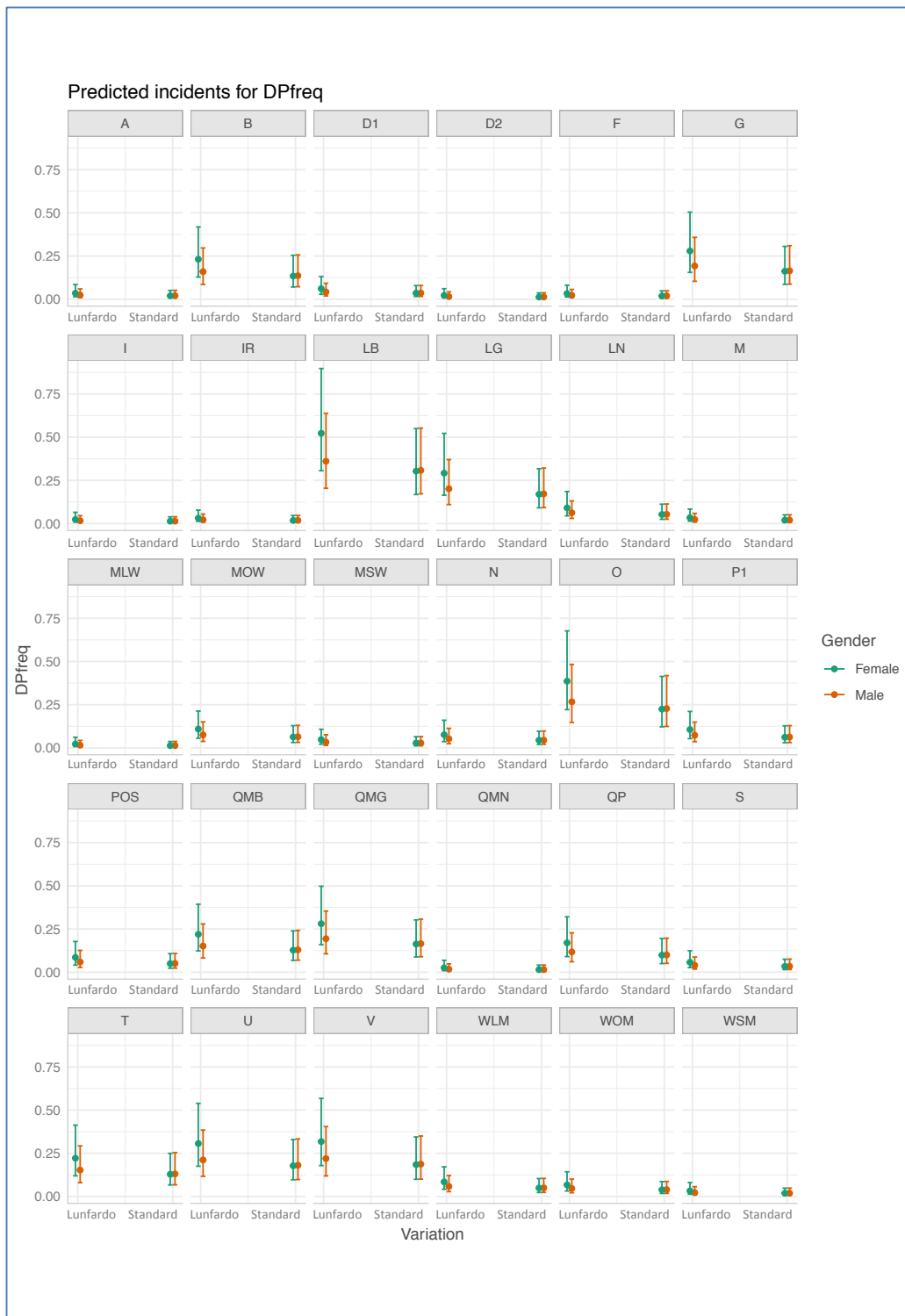


Figure 14 Average Marginal Effects of Gender on Discourse Prosody Frequency

These results are valuable inasmuch as they reinforce the findings that Gender and Variety are instrumental in constructing the gendered discourse, and they are particularly interesting with regards to the affect of the discourse prosodies generated, as discussed in the previous section. The results for relative frequencies of affect pertaining to this corpus indicate that female and *lunfardo* terms are more prevalent in negative or neutral discourse prosodies, while standard Spanish and male terms predominate in positive prosodies. If, therefore, female gender and *lunfardo* can be considered good predictors of discourse prosodies based on the AME values presented here, these results coupled with the relative frequencies for affect suggest that a similar trend might be observed in a larger population of tango corpora.

Effects of Prosodies

Upon considering the AME values for each discourse prosody, clear patterns emerge. When the discourse prosodies are ranked in descending order by AME values, the top five are: (LB): *A/n X or Y has a negative or bad lifestyle or behavior*, (O): *A/n X or Y is from or belongs to a certain place*, (V): *A/n X or Y's appearance or physical traits are significant*, (U): *A/n X or Y is unfortunate, suffers, or is to be pitied*, and (LG): *A/n X or Y has a positive or good lifestyle or behavior*. These results confirm the findings of other research that employs literary analysis methods insofar as the top four ranked discourse prosodies are concerned. As presented in section 1.1.3, Dalbosco has analyzed elements that correspond to these four prosodies. Her analysis of the spatial symbolism of moving from the *barrio/conventillo* to the *centro/cabaret* ("La construcción" 35-39) corresponds to discourse prosody (O): *A/n X or Y is from or belongs to a certain place*. The discussion of identity transformation through physical means, e.g. changing from *percal* dresses to *seda* (40-42) and having long, dark hair that is subsequently bobbed and dyed blond (42-43) are represented by (V): *A/n X or Y's appearance or physical traits are significant*, from this study. Discourse prosody (U): *A/n X or Y is unfortunate, suffers, or is to be pitied* epitomizes the condition of "La milonguera como variante porteña del prototipo de la mujer caída" (31-33). Finally, the spatial shift (*barrio/conventillo* to *centro/cabaret*) represents a lifestyle choice that

is viewed symbolically as bad and therefore additionally corresponds to (LB): *A/n X or Y has a negative or bad lifestyle or behavior*, as does the interpretation of the *milonguera* as a “mujer caída.”

Nevertheless, the statistical methodology of this research reveals outcomes that are not generally detected by other methods, which can be seen almost immediately in the fifth discourse prosody in the ranking, (LG): *A/n X or Y has a positive or good lifestyle or behavior*. Proper, socially acceptable behavior is not customarily associated with tango, and while it might be reasonably expected that prosodies regarding “good” lifestyle or behavior might appear occasionally in the corpus, it is remarkable that this discourse prosody should be so prominent and that it should be followed closely by (QMG): *A/n X or Y displays certain positive or good mental or emotional qualities* and (G): *A/n X or Y is good or displays moral traits*. The eight, ninth, and tenth prosodies on the list, (B): *A/n X or Y is bad or displays immoral traits*, (T): *A/n X or Y participates in tango and its lifestyle*, and (QMB): *A/n X or Y displays certain negative or bad mental or emotional qualities*, are more in keeping with expectations for themes in tango, however it is noteworthy that these fall in a lower position in the sequence than the three previously mentioned discourse prosodies. Table 35 presents this list with corresponding AME values for the first ten discourse prosodies.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ The complete list is stored in the data files.

Table 35 *General AME Values for the Top Ten Discourse Prosodies*

Rank	Discourse Prosody Code	AME value
1	LB	37.35%
2	O	27.60%
3	V	22.73%
4	U	21.91%
5	LG	20.87%
6	QMG	20.06%
7	G	19.98%
8	B	16.54%
9	T	15.84%
10	QMB	15.68%

While an ostensibly negative discourse prosody, (LB): *A/n X or Y has a negative or bad lifestyle or behavior*, dominates the list at AME (LB) = 37.35%, it is exceptional that, of the remaining diametrically opposed prosodies, those with a positive affect (LG, QMG, G) have higher AME values and therefore greater predictability than their negative counterparts (B, QMB). Although the relative frequencies pertaining to affect discussed in section 4.3.1 indicate significant trends, they cannot contribute predictive accuracy to the data. On the other hand, the AME values do achieve this, demonstrating that tango lyrics can and do construct positive discourse.

It would be unnecessarily repetitive to discuss all thirty discourse prosodies individually, however it should be noted that the hierarchy is consistent across all permutations of AME values (e.g. AME by Variety, Gender, Term, etc.), and a few noteworthy examples are worth discussing. I contend that the importance of these findings lies not only in the relative positions of discourse prosodies as ranked by their AME values, but in the very fact that they are detectable in this corpus by this means and that they may be predicted by the AME values on various levels, including by the terms, as will be expounded in the next section. Discourse prosodies that indicate female agency,¹⁷⁷ for example, might pass unperceived via other methodologies but,

¹⁷⁷ Including the possible subversion of societal norms regarding gender roles.

even if they were detected, certainly would not be readily quantifiable, much less include the element of prediction. In particular, these are discourse prosodies (WLM): *A/n X leaves a male or a place* or *A female leaves a/n Y* (AME = 6.04%); and (WOM): *A/n X has power over a male; A female has power over a/n Y* (AME = 4.80%). For males, discourse prosodies revealing male agency tend to be more readily discernable, as they fall within expected societal gender norms, such as (MLW): *A/n Y leaves a female or a place; A male leaves a/n X* (AME = 1.60%) or (MOW): *A male has power over a/n X; A/n Y has power over a female* (AME = 7.77%). Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that, with the understandable exception of (MOW), given the early twentieth century Argentinian and Uruguayan context of hegemonic masculinity, the discourse prosodies concerning female agency have a good likelihood of appearing in tango lyrics.

Other discourse prosodies that might also remain hidden and that are additionally non-specific with regards to gender are: (D1): *A/n X or Y lies, is deceitful*; (S): *A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something*; (A): *A/n X or Y is materialistic, is avaricious*; and (I): *A/n X or Y is unfaithful*. Once detected, these prosodies can disclose further information pertaining to the behavior of men and women as portrayed linguistically in tango lyrics, such as whether or not females are always presented as licentious and males always as truly blameless. As shown here in Table 36, the AME values of these prosodies listed by data subset support the statistical results, demonstrating that the variables *Lunfardo* and *Female* are more likely to create these four discourse prosodies:

Table 36 *AME Values of Discourse Prosodies D1, S, A, and I*

Rank	Discourse Prosody Code	AME Values, FL	AME Values, ML	AME Values, MS	AME Values, FS
19	D1	6.12%	4.22%	3.61%	3.55%
20	S	5.74%	3.96%	3.38%	3.33%
22	A	3.50%	2.41%	2.06%	2.03%
28	I	2.39%	2.35%	2.01%	1.39%

Taken together with the findings regarding discourse prosodies (MLW): *A/n Y leaves a female or a place*; *A male leaves a/n X*; (WLM): *A/n X leaves a male or a place or A female leaves a/n Y*; (MOW): *A male has power over a/n X*; *A/n Y has power over a female*; and (WOM): *A/n X has power over a male*; *A female has power over a/n Y*, evidence begins to emerge that females in the lyrics are not necessarily presented as passive victims, particularly when they are denominated by a *lunfardo* term. That a woman is deceitful (D1) or guilty of infidelity (I) may be (and usually is) interpreted as a condemnation of her behavior as perceived by the male gaze of the narrative, yet here it may also be interpreted as an indication of a female's attempt to subvert societal norms and assert herself in opposition to hegemonic masculinity by any means necessary, including deceit and infidelity. Indeed, from a social perspective Archetti maintains that in tango, "women are not perceived as weak, but rather as autonomous, and [...] very determined" (*Masculinities* 155). This determination is further manifested in the presence of the two discourse prosodies (S): *A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something* and (A): *A/n X or Y is materialistic, is avaricious*. Lyrics such as "Pebeta graciosa" (Cadícamo "Pebeta") and "Milonguita (Esthercita)" present examples that are ostensibly critical of women's acquisitiveness (discourse prosody (A)),¹⁷⁸ while "El cafiso," "Traviesa" (Battistella), and "Muñeca brava" (Gobello *Letras* 147-8; Romano 134-5) all allude to a woman's ambition (discourse prosody (S)) in

¹⁷⁸ "Entre el sabalaje / de viejos con guita / sos la milonguita / que nunca fallás" (lines 13-16) and "flor de lujo y cabaret" (line 12), respectively.

condescending and ironic tones.¹⁷⁹ Nonetheless the very presence of these discourse prosodies discloses that tango-lyric females were striving on their own behalf in active ways.

Effects of Terms

Narrowing the focus, the discussion will now examine the effects on discourse prosodies at the term level. Based on AME values, the top ten terms (out of eighty) predicted to have an effect on any given discourse prosody are shown in Table 37, in ranking from highest to lowest, along with their AME values:¹⁸⁰

Table 37 *General AME Values for the Top Ten Terms*

Rank	Term	AME value
1	<i>piba</i>	21.58%
2	<i>mina</i>	21.15%
3	<i>milonga_milonguita_milonguera</i>	19.64%
4	<i>china</i>	19.03%
5	<i>pebeta</i>	18.12%
6	<i>paica</i>	17.92%
7	<i>taita</i>	17.80%
8	<i>mujer</i>	17.38%
9	<i>papusa</i>	16.99%
10	<i>percanta</i>	16.32%

All of the terms in this list are from the FL data set, with the exceptions of *taita*, which is the first term on the list to appear from the ML data set, and *mujer*, which is the first from FS. The highest ranking term from the MS data set, *rey*, appears seventeenth out of eighty in the hierarchy. This predominantly follows the pattern established for the order of the effects of Gender and Variety on the frequencies of discourse prosodies as described in the statistical results in Table 34 (section 4.3.4), namely: FL, ML, FS, MS. Furthermore, the AME values of the discrete terms establish benchmarks by which to

¹⁷⁹ “Humos de bacana” (line 22 in “El cafiso” and line 30 in “Traviesa”) and “Che, madam que parlás en francés,” (line 1 in “Muñeca brava”) respectively.

¹⁸⁰ See Appendix 3.3 for the list of the AME values for all eighty terms.

compare the effects of individual terms upon separate discourse prosodies, especially given that the sequence of the AME values of the terms remains consistent across the various data sets. When the AME values are considered in conjunction with the logDice scores of collocates, this data is vital in reinforcing the likelihood that those terms do, in fact, construct any given discourse prosody. In contrast, the raw frequencies tallied in the process of this study can only provide the percentage of the data which any given term or discourse prosody comprises, however they do not reveal what the language *may do* with regards to creating or predicting discourse prosodies. On the other hand, the AME percentage offers a reasonable prediction that the given term does, in fact, have an effect on the creation of any given discourse prosody. While some of the findings may have been ascertained via other methodologies and disciplines, such as the aforementioned presence of the top four discourse prosodies, those methods would not have the capability of *predicting* with a degree of certainty what the language used in tango lyrics might do, as in this research, which I will demonstrate in the following discussion of the relationship of terms to discourse prosodies.

A comparison of the top-ranked terms from each of the four data sets (FL, ML, FS, and MS, in that order) will illustrate the importance of the AME values of the terms. Again, these terms are: *piba*, ranked first, *taita*, ranked seventh, followed by *mujer* in eighth position, and finally *rey*, appearing seventeenth in the sequence of eighty terms. The general AME values for the first three terms are in Table 37, and the general AME value for *rey* is 12.83%. These values indicate the strength or likelihood of each term's ability to predict discourse prosodies based on their relationship to the benchmark value of AME = 21.58% for *piba*. Both *mujer* and *taita* are considerably close to that measure, and thus when encountered in a given tango lyric may be said to be reasonably good predictors of any observed discourse prosody. *Rey* has a comparatively lower AME value, nevertheless it is greater than half that of *piba*; while

it may not be as likely as *piba* to form a prosody, it is nonetheless a strong contributor.¹⁸¹

To illustrate further, the AME values of the terms as predictors of specific discourse prosodies, shown in Table 38, can be considered. The first column lists the discourse prosodies by their codes, the second gives the AME value for the term *piba* for that specified discourse prosody, and the remaining columns give the same information for *taita*, *mujer*, and *rey*, respectively.

¹⁸¹ I reiterate my contention that all AME values, including the lower, “weaker,” ones are nevertheless consequential; the fact that they constitute predictors on any level is significant.

Table 38 Comparison of AME Values of PIBA, TAITA, MUJER, and REY by Discourse Prosody

<i>Discourse Prosody Code (DP)</i>	<i>AME Value for piba (FL)</i>	<i>AME Value for taita (ML)</i>	<i>AME Value for mujer (FS)</i>	<i>AME Value for rey (MS)</i>
LB	79.18%	65.32%	63.77%	47.09%
O	58.50%	48.26%	47.12%	34.79%
V	48.17%	39.74%	38.80%	28.65%
U	46.43%	38.31%	37.40%	27.62%
LG	44.24%	36.50%	35.63%	26.32%
QMG	42.51%	35.07%	34.24%	25.29%
G	42.34%	34.93%	34.10%	25.18%
B	35.07%	28.93%	28.25%	20.86%
T	33.58%	27.70%	27.04%	19.97%
QMB	33.25%	27.43%	26.78%	19.77%
QP	25.73%	21.23%	20.72%	15.30%
MOW	16.48%	13.59%	13.27%	9.80%
P1	16.06%	13.25%	12.94%	9.56%
LN	13.75%	11.34%	11.07%	8.18%
POS	12.94%	10.67%	10.42%	7.70%
WLM	12.80%	10.56%	10.31%	7.61%
N	11.50%	9.49%	9.26%	6.84%
WOM	10.18%	8.40%	8.20%	6.05%
D1	9.27%	7.65%	7.47%	5.52%
S	8.70%	7.18%	7.00%	5.17%
MSW	7.26%	5.99%	5.85%	4.32%
A	5.30%	4.37%	4.27%	3.15%
M	5.16%	4.26%	4.16%	3.07%
F	5.00%	4.12%	4.02%	2.97%
WSM	4.93%	4.07%	3.97%	2.93%
IR	4.76%	3.93%	3.84%	2.83%
QMN	3.82%	3.15%	3.08%	2.27%
I	3.62%	2.99%	2.92%	2.16%
MLW	3.39%	2.79%	2.73%	2.01%
D2	3.39%	2.79%	2.73%	2.01%

It should be remembered that not every term created every discourse prosody.

Therefore I will discuss the characteristics of these four terms with respect to (U): *A/n X or Y is unfortunate, suffers, or is to be pitied* this discourse prosody as this is the only discourse prosody formed by each of these terms.

Piba forms discourse prosody (U) in the lyric “Duelo criollo” in the line, “De pena la linda piba” (line 21) *Pena* collocates with *piba*, having a logDice score of 8.48, which is reasonably close to the maximum value of 14 set by SketchEngine, and therefore indicates that the *piba* is suffering in some way. The subsequent verses, “abrió bien anchas sus alas / y con su virtud y sus galas / hasta el cielo se voló” (lines 22-24) elucidates the *piba*’s misfortune in that she dies from sorrow for having been the motivation for the deaths of the two men who duel for her, a *payador* and a *taura*. She dies with her virtue intact, therefore she is seen as pure, the metaphor of her death in the opening of her wings likening her to an angel. Analyzed in the larger context of the lyric, the discourse prosody indicates that if a woman is virtuous, her suffering may be pitied and viewed with reverence, as opposed to the suffering of, for example, a *milonguita*, customarily condemned in any other lyric. This is consistent with institutionalized expectations of femininity of the time, as described in chapter one. With a comparatively high AME value of 46.43% for this discourse prosody, it can be said that the use of *piba* in a tango lyric will likely represent some type of adversity or suffering on the part of that particular female, but it may not necessarily evoke culpability for such misfortune.

The *taita*, on the other hand, is not necessarily a virtuous male, either by definition or by the discourse prosodies associated with this term. In the tango “El taita del arrabal” (Gobello *Letras* 60-61), the eponymous protagonist is presented as a degenerate: a once respected, albeit feared, authority figure of the *arrabal* who has “fallen” through his entrance into the sordid world of tango. His misfortune is evidenced in the collocation of *pobre* with *taita* in the lines “Pobre taita , muchas noches, / bien dopado de morfina” and “Relucieron los bufosos / y el pobre taita cayó” (lines 27-28) The logDice score for this collocation is high at 9.46, and additionally the AME value for *taita* and (U) is 37.40%, which is strongly approaching the benchmark value of AME(U) = 46.43% for *piba*. In this case, the *taita*’s masculinity is disparaged through the portrayal of his abuse of drugs and alcohol (“Hasta que al salir de un baile, / después de una champagnada” (lines 23-24)) and his defeat at the hands of a *taura*

who knocks him down and absconds with his woman, all due to his arrogance and participation in the tango lifestyle. The *lunfardo* term is employed in this lyric to show the antithesis of “true” masculinity: to give in to excess and to fail to defend one’s sovereignty over women is to fail to comply with norms of violence and toughness necessary to the hegemonic tango male, as discussed in section 1.1.3.

Moving from *lunfardo* to the standard Spanish terms in this discourse prosody, an example of *mujer*’s effect is found in “Cuando llora la milonga” (Mario), in which *dolor* collocates with *mujer* (logDice = 8.46) to evoke a woman’s heartbreak over the death of a lover killed in an altercation, akin to that of “Duelo criollo.” The song portrays the emotional pain that overwhelms her (“Dolor sentimental / embarga a la mujer” (lines 27-28)), however earlier on the lyric implies a sense of guilt (“Lloró la milonga, / su antigua pasión, / parece que ruega / consuelo y perdón” (lines 8-11)) requiring absolution. Correspondingly, the tango “Alma de loca” (Font) implies that suffering and regret are conditions of being female in the final line, “tus tristezas de mujer,” *tristeza* having a logDice score as a collocate of *mujer* of 10.19. With a lower AME value, the term *mujer* does not predict this discourse prosody as strongly as *piba*, however it would appear from these examples that when these terms do present for (U) in this corpus, the *piba* tends to be the passive recipient of misfortune and therefore an object of pity, whereas a *mujer*, in general, is the author of her own tragedies.

Finally, the highest-ranking male standard Spanish term is *rey*, exemplified by the lyric “El rey del cabaret,” in which an arrogant womanizer (“rey sin corazón” (line 10)) is made to suffer by a beautiful woman’s disdain. *Sufrís* collocates with *rey* with high confidence at logDice = 9.33, seen in the lines “Rey del cabaret, / sufrís por amor” (lines 29-30). As with the *taita*, the man’s suffering is viewed with derision and serves as a criticism of his prior heartless behavior towards women. Similar to the portrayals of misfortune for *taita* and *mujer*, the *rey* is the instigator of his adversity, in contrast to the *piba* who is represented as a victim of circumstance. To reiterate, although *rey*

does not have as high an AME value as the benchmark *piba*, nevertheless it is an important predictor of this discourse prosody.

The above discussion of a specific discourse prosody was undertaken for consistency's sake, to illustrate how the AME values may be interpreted for a given discourse prosody that was represented by the highest ranking terms in each data set. Nevertheless, the potency of these predictors is not contingent on their representation in the corpus by specific terms; in other words, the AME value for a given term to predict a given discourse prosody is valid regardless of whether or not that term was observed to form that particular prosody. Observing the first discourse prosody in the hierarchy, (LB): *A/n X or Y has a negative or bad lifestyle or behavior*, it is clear that this has great predictability at the term level. In spite of the fact that *piba* and *mujer* did not form this prosody in the corpus, for example, their AME values predict that if the corpus were expanded, for every 1-unit increase of each of those two terms, the likelihood of their forming this discourse prosody would increase by 79.18% and 63.77%, respectively. These are very high values for predictors. When compared with the lower limit of the ranking for AME values for (LB), we find the following terms at the lowest ranking in each data set (FL, ML, MS, FS), respectively: *bataclana* (AME = 25.14%), *rana* (AME = 24.53%), *paisano* (AME = 18.76%), and *niña* (AME = 17.87%). It can be said, therefore, that *piba*, *taita*, *mujer*, and *rey* are greater predictors of discourse prosody (LB): *A/n X or Y has a negative or bad lifestyle or behavior* than *bataclana*, *rana*, *paisano*, or *niña*. Again, this does not negate the importance of the presence of these last four terms and their ability to create discourse prosodies; rather, it demonstrates that the AME values provide an understanding of which specific terms are indicated in the process of creating gendered discourse in the lyrics. Given the robustness of the AME calculations, it is reasonable to expect, then, based on the AME values, that these terms will create similar discourse prosodies at similar rates in any other given tango lyric.

4.4 Conclusion

The statistics generated in this research substantiate the means by which a particular language variety, *lunfardo*, is used to construct gender in tango lyrics, the primary research question. Specifically, regardless of the quantities of female versus male terms or *lunfardo* versus standard Spanish terms in the corpus, it is the words for females and the *lunfardo* cultural markers that have the greatest significant effect on creating gendered discourse prosodies in tango lyrics. Additionally, it has been demonstrated that terms that may be female and/or *lunfardo* have a higher likelihood of forming neutral or negative discourse prosodies, while those that are male and/or standard Spanish will tend to create positive discourse. While the discourse prosodies identified herein may be similar to those analyzed in other research by other methods (i.e. literary analysis (Dalbosco “La construcción”), psychoanalysis (Capello et al.)), no other study has shown with statistical significance that specifically *lunfardo* and female terms (rather than standard Spanish and/or male terms) have the greatest effect on constructing gendered discourse in tango lyrics. The next two chapters will scrutinize these results by close readings of tango lyrics in conjunction with analysis of the statistical results.

Chapter Five. Representations of Gender in Category A, *Amor y desamor*: “Se cortó la redoblona”

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the results of the data analysis, corroborating known characteristics of tango lyrics while uncovering other facets that are not readily discernible without the use of these corpus linguistics methods. Driven by the conclusions of the findings, this chapter will undertake a close reading of a selected lyric that is deemed illustrative of those results, supported by evidence from additional lyrics as necessary.

In chapter one I introduced five thematic categorizations of tango lyrics designed to free the cataloging of tango lyrics from the constraints of traditional chronological classifications (e.g. *guardia vieja*, *guardia nueva*); said traditional groupings being apposite to the music of tango rather than its words. Restated, these new categories are: *Personajes* (P), *Amor y desamor* (A), *Cambalache* (C), *Nostalgias* (N), and *Poética nueva tanguera* (PN).¹⁸² I will now return to these as a point of departure for the qualitative analysis of the lyrics, in which I will present linguistic and literary evidence of the discourse prosodies as they have been particularly generated by the use of *lunfardo*, comparing this with the use of standard Spanish where appropriate. Based on the statistical results, it is to be expected that terms that are female, *lunfardo*, or both would be most likely to form any of the discourse prosodies, and scrutiny of the thematic categories bears this out. To begin, Table 39 restates the total number and percentage of lyrics in each thematic category out of the total of 285 lyrics that were used to create the Tango Lyrics Corpus.¹⁸³

¹⁸² See chapter one, section 1.2, for a full description of these categories.

¹⁸³ As explained in section 1.2, many lyrics clearly belonged to a given category, however others were not so readily classified and were assigned up to three categories. These were ranked by strength of relevance in the lyric and listed as Cat.1, Cat. 2, and/or Cat. 3 in the metadata in the corpus. In this table and for the discussion in chapters five and six, I have considered only the first, or strongest, categorization for each lyric.

Table 39 *Thematic Categories of Lyrics*¹⁸⁴

Category	Code	Total Number of Lyrics in Category 1	% of Lyrics in Category 1
<i>Amor y desamor</i>	A	114	40.00%
<i>Cambalache</i>	C	67	23.51%
<i>Personajes</i>	P	59	20.70%
<i>Nostalgias</i>	N	34	11.93%
<i>Poética nueva tanguera</i>	PN	11	3.86%
Totals		285	100.00%

Amor y desamor is by far the largest category, comprising 40.00% of the corpus, followed by *Cambalache* at 23.51%, and *Personajes* at 20.70%. As the two principal tropes traditionally attributed to tango are love and the “fallen woman,” (and, occasionally, the “debauched man”) it would be expedient to select the first two categories for a focused examination and close reading of the lyrics therein. However, representations of the “fallen woman”/“debauched man” in tango have been analyzed extensively in other research, therefore it was decided to defer an analysis of *Cambalache* for the present and focus on the third category, *Personajes*. Moreover, the number of lyrics belonging to this category is similar to that of *Cambalache*, and in addition women and men are uniformly represented, rendering it quantitatively comparable. Additionally, as the central theme of *Personajes* consists of descriptions or caricatures of individuals, this category lends itself readily to the evaluation of how *lunfardo* is used to construct gender images in the lyrics. Therefore, chapter five will examine lyrics from the category *Amor y desamor* (Category A), while chapter six will consider the gendered discourse found in songs from the category *Personajes* (Category P).

Following the choice of category, potential lyrics for consideration were selected via a data driven approach grounded in the results from the data analysis. Within the *Amor y desamor* category, lyrics were evaluated by the richness of

¹⁸⁴ These figures were originally presented in chapter four, section 4.3.1.

discourse prosodies identified in each lyric and their relative distribution over nouns referring to men and women. Additionally, the frequency of *lunfardo* terms in each lyric was considered, particularly when those terms displayed high AME (Average Marginal Effects) values.¹⁸⁵ Finally, I endeavored to choose lyrics having a less ubiquitous presence in existing literature on tango. The primary lyric selected for analysis is “Se cortó la redoblona” written by Luis Roldán¹⁸⁶ in the period between 1914 and 1926;¹⁸⁷ other lyrics from Category *Amor y desamor* will be referenced as necessary.

It is the aim of this chapter to focus on how *lunfardo* creates and supports the discourse prosodies that were identified for gender, particularly those that may be considered less readily detectable without the corpus-based methodology. The themes of *Amor y desamor* will be examined via a combined analysis of linguistic pragmatics alongside rhetorical devices used in the poetry of the lyrics.¹⁸⁸ A discussion of pragmatics and semantics providing evidence of implicature, evidentiality, courtesy, and deixis will illustrate the mechanisms of the language used in the lyrics. Rhetorical devices such as metaphor (including simile, metonymy, synecdoche, and metalepsis), irony, and repetition will be explored to further reveal how *lunfardo* contributes to the creation of gendered discourse prosodies in tango lyrics. The first section will present a brief discussion of the findings within this category,¹⁸⁹ foregrounding those results that are remarkable with regards to the methodology of this study, and the following

¹⁸⁵ To reiterate from chapter four, section 4.3.5: Average Marginal Effects (AME) are used as a means of predicting the effects of the model. Essentially, the AME shows the probability that an outcome will change by that percentage for every increase in one unit of a variable, x, when all other variables are held constant (Leeper 7).

¹⁸⁶ Luis Pedro Víctor Vicente Roldán, 1894 – 1943, Buenos Aires. Lyricist and journalist who also went by the pseudonym Luis Candela (del Greco).

¹⁸⁷ I have not been able to source an exact date for this lyric. Roldán’s earliest lyric appears to be from 1914, and Francisco Canaro recorded an instrumental version of this tango on 1 December, 1926 (Conradi).

¹⁸⁸ As stated in section 3.1, this thesis is not primarily concerned with the meter or rhyme of the lyrics, however I do recognize that word choices may often have been based on the need to accommodate these features. Nevertheless, as mentioned in section 4.2.3, it is the ultimate effect of those choices on the construction of gendered discourse prosodies, irrespective of the various factors at play in determining the authors’ word choices, that is the focus of this research.

¹⁸⁹ All discourse prosodies except (IR) *A/n X or Y is described ironically* were found in this category.

section will provide a comprehensive analysis of the tango lyric, “Se cortó la redoblona,” also taking the data from chapter four as a point of departure.

5.2 Discourse prosodies in Category A: *Amor y desamor*

While the data from this study substantiates (with statistical significance) notions traditionally associated with tango about men and women, such as the criticism of female autonomy contrasted with admiration of male enterprise, it further serves to expose discourse prosodies that might otherwise remain obscure. Evidence to support these inconspicuous prosodies lies in the confidence levels of collocational relationships (i.e. logDice scores) and the strength of AME values as predictors. To reiterate the definitions from the previous chapter, logDice scores indicate the confidence with which two given terms may be considered to be collocates, and AME values are reliable predictors of the effects of the study terms on the discourse prosodies. As stated in chapter four, logDice scores that are closer to approaching the maximum value of 14 are considered to be stronger in collocational confidence. With regards to individual study terms having an effect on the general frequencies of all discourse prosodies, the uppermost percentage for AME values of specific terms was 21.58% (the value for *piba*); the closer a term’s AME percentage to this figure the more influential it may be as a predictor. Correspondingly, the closer a given term’s AME percentage to the AME value of *piba* (the highest AME by default) within a given discourse prosody, the greater the likelihood that it is a good predictor of that prosody.

5.2.1 Power in Category A

To illustrate this, Table 40 displays these values for the discourse prosody (MOW): *A male has power over a/n X; A/n Y has power over a female* as it appears in Category A: the first column shows the terms that were identified as creating discourse prosody (MOW), the variety (*Lunfardo* (L) or Standard (S)) is abbreviated in parenthesis to the right of the term, the second column gives the general AME value of each term for contributing to any discourse prosody, and finally the third column presents the

AME percentage for those terms specifically for discourse prosody (MOW) in Category A. Additionally, the AME value for *piba* is given as a benchmark value: column two shows the constant value of 21.58% for *piba* in any discourse prosody and column three gives the AME value of *piba* as an upper limit for the discourse prosody (MOW).

Table 40 *AME Values for (MOW): A male has power over a/an X; A/n Y has power over a female in Category A*¹⁹⁰

<i>Terms for discourse prosody MOW, Cat. A</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody MOW, Cat. A</i>
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 16.48%
<u>Female:</u>		
<i>mina</i> (L)	21.15%	16.15%
<i>milonguera</i> (L)	19.64%	15.00%
<u>Male:</u>		
<i>hombre</i> (S)	10.10%	7.71%

The AME values in this table, in conjunction with the logDice scores of the collocations, demonstrate the strong tendencies that these terms have towards forming this particular discourse prosody; at 16.15%, the AME value for *mina* is substantially close to the upper limit, indicating that *mina* is a good predictor of (MOW): *A male has power over a/n X; A/n Y has power over a female*,¹⁹¹ as is *milonguera* at 15.00%. Given these results, it is reasonable to expect that, in any given lyric within Category A, the terms *mina* and *milonguera* would tend to construct this discourse prosody, whereas the standard Spanish male term, *hombre*, would be less likely to do so.

¹⁹⁰ All tables in this chapter may also be found in Appendix 3.1.

¹⁹¹ This discourse prosody formed by *mina* was found in the c. 1918 lyric “El cafiso” by Florencio Iriarte (Gobello *Letras* 48-9). It would be interesting to examine the data diachronically to determine if the *mina*/(MOW) association continued over time in the corpus, thereby aiding in ascertaining the various connotations of the word. A diachronic corpus study of this term and its tendency to form or not form this discourse prosody in the Tango Lyrics Corpus might provide evidence for this definition. This is, however, beyond the current scope of this study.

As seen in Table 41, the AME values for discourse prosody (WOM): *A/n X has power over a male; A female has power over a/n Y* are considerably lower than that of (MOW): *A male has power over a/n X; A/n Y has power over a female*, understandable in view of lower frequency of (WOM) in the corpus, ranking eighteenth out of thirty discourse prosodies compared to twelfth out of thirty for (MOW). Nevertheless, the values for three of the four terms are reasonably close to the upper limit set by *piba*, and while *mocosita*'s AME value is lower, the logDice score for its collocation with *dejés* is high at 12.42, all of which conflate to establish these prosodies in the corpus.

Table 41 AME Values for (WOM): *A/n X has power over a male; A female has power over a/n Y* in Category A

<i>Terms for discourse prosody WOM, Cat. A</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody WOM, Cat. A</i>
Female:	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 10.18%
<i>mujer</i> (S)	17.38%	8.20%
<i>percanta</i> (L)	16.32%	7.70%
<i>garabita</i> (L)	15.88%	7.49%
<i>mocosita</i> (L)	7.40%	3.49%
Male:		
n/a		

Dealing with themes of love then, it is not surprising that Category A provides few examples of the discourse prosody (MOW): *A male has power over a/n X; A/n Y has power over a female*, however when combined and contrasted with evidence of the prosody (WOM): *A/n X has power over a male; A female has power over a/n Y*, differences in the way the genders manifest power, particularly through love, become clear. In Category A, men hold power over women via a threat of physical harm, deprivation, or economic loss,¹⁹² whereas women appear to have recourse to love to

¹⁹² See Carretero, *Prostitución en Buenos Aires* (106-7) for an interesting discussion of the sadomasochistic relationship between the Buenos Aires pimp and prostitute. He suggests that the tango

hold a man in thrall. To illustrate the first point, in “El cafiso,” a tango in which a pimp is furious over his prostitute’s apparent escape, the word *liga* collocates with *mina*¹⁹³ in the verse “y palpito que la mina / la liga por la buseca,” [I get the feeling that the woman / gets beatings for food]¹⁹⁴ (lines 3-4) and the lyric “Desdichas” (Romano 50-1) recounts the *milonguera*’s dependency on the good will of the *encargado*, or *bastonero* of the dance hall: “Bailá, bailá, milonguera, / porque mira el encargado¹⁹⁵ / y te puede echar” (lines 12-14). In contrast, a woman’s power lies in her ability to secure and control a man’s romantic infatuation for her. The tango “Mocosita” (Gobello *Letras* 110-11) tells the story of a man who has been abandoned by his “mocosita,” and then ultimately commits suicide due to her desertion. Through the collocation of *dejés* with the term *mocosita*,¹⁹⁶ as well as the repetition of the verse “Mocosita, no me dejés morir,” (lines 13-14, 35-36) we see that the man, in his lovesickness, has conceded his agency, and in fact his very life, to her will. Correspondingly, in what is arguably the most iconic tango lyric of all, “La cumparsita (Si supieras),” the man’s lament, “decí, percanta, ¿qué has hecho / de mi pobre corazón?” (lines 15-16) confers power to the woman in the interrogative containing the verb *hacer*;¹⁹⁷ we see him alone, incapable of functioning, lacking the animus imparted to him by her love. These few examples of the (MOW): *A male has power over a/n X; A/n Y has power over a female* versus (WOM): *A/n X has power over a male; A female has power over a/n Y* opposition found in Category A give an indication that, in spite of the predominantly male voice and gaze of the lyrics, women are not entirely without leverage in tango songs. Furthermore, yet again it is largely female, *lunfardo* terms that establish these prosodies, including the prosody referring to hegemonic masculinity (MOW). I will

“Julián” (Gobello *Letras* 77-78; Romano 53-54) represents this type of relationship, however there is no other evidence to verify that this is actually the case.

¹⁹³ *Mina/liga*: logDice = 9.39.

¹⁹⁴ Translated by Kurt Hofer (Conde “Lunfardo in Tango,” 47).

¹⁹⁵ *Milonguera/encargado*: logDice = 9.91.

¹⁹⁶ *Mocosita/dejés*: logDice = 12.42.

¹⁹⁷ *Percanta/has hecho (hacer)*: logDice = 7.21

enlarge on these discourse prosodies with explicit detail in the section on “Se cortó la redoblona.”

5.2.2 Ambition in Category A

The lyrics to “Desdichas,” “El ciruja,” “El cafiso,” and “Muñeca Brava” in their classification in Category A (*Amor y desamor*) also expose two corresponding discourse prosodies: (A): *A/n X or Y is materialistic, is avaricious* and (S): *A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something*. Discourse prosody (A), representing avariciousness in an individual, was considered in this study as a discourse prosody having a negative affect, whereas (S), representing striving for a goal, was taken as having a positive affect, as described in chapter four; regardless of this, both discourse prosodies may be interpreted as an individual’s desire for success, whether measured by material acquisition (A) or the achievement of a self-promoting goal (S). The AME values for the terms identified for discourse prosodies (A): *A/n X or Y is materialistic, is avaricious* and (S): *A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something* are shown in Tables 42 and 43, respectively. In the first, both *mina* and *milonguera* have strong AME values with respect to the maximum values, and in the second, while not as compelling, *bacana*, *madam*, and *grela* nevertheless show good predictability for discourse prosody (S). It is interesting to note that all terms are female as well as *lunfardo*; men’s ambitions do not appear to be represented in tango lyrics in Category A in the same way as those of women. In these lyrics, by predominantly male narrators, women are construed as needing material acquisition as a means to achieve success and independence, and the male narrators perceive this ambition as the cause behind the failure of their romantic/sexual relationships. It is only in rare instances, such as in the tango “Bailarín compadrito” (Category P), that we see references to avarice and ambition in men, and these do not tend to reference love or relationships. As “Bailarín compadrito” pertains to Category P, I will discuss this aspect in greater detail in chapter six.

Table 42 AME Values for (A): A/n X or Y is materialistic, is avaricious in Category A

Terms for discourse prosody A, Cat. A	AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies	AME value of terms for discourse prosody A, Cat. A
Female:	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 5.30%
<i>mina</i> (L)	21.15%	5.20%
<i>milonguera</i> (L)	19.64%	4.83%
Male:		
n/a		

Table 43 AME Values for (S): A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something in Category A

Terms for discourse prosody S, Cat. A	AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies	AME value of terms for discourse prosody S, Cat. A
Female:	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 8.70%
<i>bacana</i> (L)	13.47%	5.43%
<i>madam</i> (L)	11.33%	4.57%
<i>grela</i> (L)	11.29%	4.55%
Male:		
n/a		

In “Desdichas,” there is an implicature of the woman’s economic dependency upon her employment as a *milonguera*, the term clearly denoting a taxi dancer in the context of this lyric, as was previously seen in the discussion of (MOW): *A male has power over a/n X; A/n Y has power over a female*. While the fourth verse of the last stanza implies that her position is somehow the result of a failed relationship (“triste fin de una pasión” (line 18)), there is also an implicature that she traded love for luxury, as seen in the collocation of *milonguera* with *lujoso*¹⁹⁸ in the first stanza: “una triste milonguera / de un lujoso cabaret” (lines 3-4). Here she does not merely represent the “fallen woman” trope who has ended up in a squalid *academia* or

¹⁹⁸ *Milonguera/lujoso*: logDice = 9.79.

peringundín, but she has managed to rise high enough in her station to find herself in an environment that is described as luxurious, irrespective of the fact that it is, fundamentally, identical to a brothel in that it is a space where bodies are a commodity.

In contrast, “El ciruja” presents an absent female who has not only deceived her lover but has robbed him as well: “una mina le solfeaba todo el vento¹⁹⁹ / y jugó con su pasión” [a woman pinched all his dough / and toyed with his passion] (lines 15-16). Furthermore, although this collocation identifies discourse prosody (A): *A/n X or Y is materialistic, is avaricious*, there is an element of ambition implied in later verses that links it closely to discourse prosody (S): *A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something*. The woman was a *quemera*,²⁰⁰ her lowly social status underscored by a description of her heritage: “hija de una curandera, / mechera de profesión” (lines 19-20). Abandoning the *ciruja* [rag-and-bone-man] and the life of a *quemera*, her ambition manifests itself as a desire to win over the love (and possibly protection) of the *cafiolo* that she evidently now works for: “pero vivía engrupida / de un cafiolo vidalita / y le pasaba la guita / que le sacaba al matón.” [but she lived in thrall / to a shady pimp / and she gave all the *ciruja*’s dough / that she could get to that thug] (lines 21-24).

Clearly in these examples, the poetic voice is describing female ambition ironically, as it does in other lyrics where discourse prosody (S): *A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something* is evidenced, and typically in those in which the male protagonist has been rejected or abandoned by his paramour. Returning momentarily to “El cafiso,” the narrator attempts to disparage the woman by describing her efforts for advancement as fruitless, bearing only the semblance of success: “Se ha creído la rantifusa / con humos²⁰¹ de gran bacana” [the slut thought she had / all the airs of a high-brow dame²⁰²] (lines 21-22). We know from the title (i.e. “The Pimp”) that the

¹⁹⁹ *Mina/vento*: logDice = 8.85.

²⁰⁰ See glossary.

²⁰¹ *Bacana/humos*: logDice = 11.59.

²⁰² “Dame” is used here in the U.S. English slang sense of the word: woman (Dalzell 29).

woman referred to is most likely a prostitute, hence the sarcasm in describing her as putting on the airs of a wealthy woman. Similarly in “Muñeca brava,” in the opening verse “Che, madam que parlás²⁰³ en francés” (line 1), *madam* is used ironically, the French form of polite address contrasting with the allusion to the title of the proprietress of a brothel, as the narrator reveals in his insulting lines ending the stanza, “Che, vampiresa... juguete de ocasión...” (line 8). However, in spite of the fact that the male is describing the female’s ambition with sarcasm or irony, nevertheless he is a witness to the fact that she has, indeed, achieved greater success than he has, at least economically. Regardless of questions of morality or legality, prostitution was a lucrative business; as described in chapter two (section 2.6) successful *cocotes* and *madams* could “retire,” return to their home country if applicable, marry, have children, and integrate into local society without revealing the stigma of an immoral past (Carretero *Prostitución* 88). The extent of women’s ambitions vis à vis these discourse prosodies will be further examined in the next section.

5.2.3 Abandonment in Category A

The songs in this category primarily comprise histories of failed romance, and generally describe the aftermath once the beloved has abandoned the lover. I will turn next to discourse prosodies that have desertion as an underlying thread, (WSM): *A/n X seeks a male; A female seeks a/n Y*; (MSW): *A/n Y seeks a female; A male seeks a/n X*; (MLW): *A/n Y leaves a female or a place; A male leaves a/n X*; (WLM): *A/n X leaves a male or a place; A female leaves a/n Y*; as well as (I): *A/n X or Y is unfaithful* and (F): *A/n X or Y is faithful*, which will be shown to relate to this theme. As the link between AME values and the creation of the various discourse prosodies has been thoroughly scrutinized in the previous discussion, I will merely present the tables for these six discourse prosodies here for transparency and continue by assessing the collocations and concordance lines. Tables 44 – 49:

²⁰³ *madam/parlás*: logDice = 12.19.

Table 44 AME Values for (WSM): A/n X seeks a male; A female seeks a/n Y in Category A

<i>Terms for discourse prosody WSM, Cat. A</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody WSM, Cat. A</i>
Female:	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 4.93%
<i>piba</i> (L)	21.58%	4.93%
Male:		
<i>príncipe</i> (S)	5.69%	1.30%

Table 45 AME Values for (MSW): A/n Y seeks a female; A male seeks a/n X in Category A

<i>Terms for discourse prosody MSW, Cat. A</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody MSW, Cat. A</i>
Female:	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 7.26%
<i>pebeta</i> (L)	18.12%	6.10%
<i>paica</i> (L)	17.92%	6.03%
Male:		
<i>taura</i> (L)	11.29%	3.80%
<i>novio</i> (S)	9.98%	3.36%

Table 46 AME Values for (MLW): A/n Y leaves a female or a place; A male leaves a/n X in Category A

<i>Terms for discourse prosody MLW, Cat. A</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody MLW, Cat. A</i>
Female:	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 3.39%
<i>china</i> (L)	19.03%	2.99%
Male:		
<i>malevo</i> (L)	14.64%	2.30%
<i>hombres, hombre</i> (S)	10.10%	1.59%

Table 47 AME Values for (WLM): A/n X leaves a male or a place; A female leaves a/n Y in Category A

Terms for discourse prosody WLM, Cat. A	AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies	AME value of terms for discourse prosody WLM, Cat. A
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 12.80%
Female:		
<i>piba</i> (L)	21.58%	12.80%
<i>mina</i> (L)	21.15%	12.54%
<i>china</i> (L)	19.03%	11.29%
<i>mujer, mujercita</i> (S)	17.38%	10.31%
<i>percanta</i> (L)	16.32%	9.68%
<i>hija</i> (S)	7.82%	4.64%
<i>mocosita</i> (S)	7.40%	4.39%
<i>ingrata</i> (S)	7.34%	4.36%
Male:		
n/a		

Table 48 AME Values for (I): A/n X or Y is unfaithful in Category A

Terms for discourse prosody I, Cat. A	AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies	AME value of terms for discourse prosody I, Cat. A
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 3.62%
Female:		
<i>mujer</i> (S)	17.38%	2.92%
<i>moza</i> (S)	7.38%	1.24%
Male:		
<i>amigo</i> (S)	7.72%	1.30%

Table 49 AME Values for (F): *A/n X or Y is faithful in Category A*

<i>Terms for discourse prosody F, Cat. A</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody F, Cat. A</i>
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 5.00%
<u>Female:</u>		
<i>mujer</i> (S)	17.38%	4.02%
<i>moza</i> (S)	7.38%	1.71%
<u>Male:</u>		
<i>hombre</i> (S)	10.10%	2.34%
<i>amigo</i> (S)	7.72%	1.79%

While there are two discourse prosodies that directly refer to a person's departure from a place or relationship, (WLM): *A/n X leaves a male or a place; A female leaves a/n Y* and (MLW): *A/n Y leaves a female or a place; A male leaves a/n X*, this movement is also implied in (WSM): *A/n X seeks a male; A female seeks a/n Y*, (MSW): *A/n Y seeks a female; A male seeks a/n X*, and even in (I): *A/n X or Y is unfaithful* and its counterpart, (F): *A/n X or Y is faithful*, in that the first individual is in pursuit of the second, whose absence implies act of leaving. Additionally, the discourse prosody (WSM) may be said to correspond to (MLW) and conversely (WLM) to (MSW). In (WSM), for example, there are four instances of *piba* that form that prosody with convincing collocations, however it is noteworthy that in each of these the woman is passive in her search, as epitomized in "Ventanita de arrabal" (Gobello *Letras* 134; Romano 116-17), in which "está la piba esperando²⁰⁴ / que pase el muchacho aquel" (lines 13-14). Furthermore, in "Arrabalero" (Gobello *Letras* 124), the term *malevo* is in collocation with *amuró*,²⁰⁵ forming the prosody (MLW), and the woman who has been left behind is the direct object of the verb. Referring to herself in the passive voice, along with the choice of verb in the verses "soy la percanta que fue querida / de aquel malevo que la amuró" [I'm the sweetheart who was loved / by that thug who

²⁰⁴ *Piba/esperando*: logDice = 12.41.

²⁰⁵ *Malevo/amuró*: logDice = 9.39.

abandoned her] (lines 3-4) highlights her passivity, as opposed to merely saying that he left; she is the direct and intended recipient of his actions.

This lack of female agency reappears in “Cuando llora la milonga,” one of the few lyrics authored by a woman, María Luisa Carnelli,²⁰⁶ which was published under one of her two masculine pseudonyms, Luis Mario (Cabrera). The narrative subtly paints an emotional picture of a woman grieving over the death of a man, the entire lyric presenting an impicature of the archetypal tango narrative for this category. To digress briefly, the “tango love story” as evinced by Category A can be summarized as follows: an innocent girl (*piba*) or a less virtuous, yet admirable, young woman (*mina*) lives a life of poverty and hardship in the *conventillo* or *arrabal*. The *piba* has her *novio*, an equally innocent lad, who perhaps for the *mina* is a *taura*, *compadrito*, or *cafisho*; regardless, the woman is seduced away from the *barrio* by a *malevo* or *bacán* promising a better life and subsequently becomes a *milonguera*, *cocote*, or *percanta* (here used in the sense of a *mantenida* [kept woman]). One of two scenarios then ensue: a) the *novio/taura* follows her, confronts the *malevo/bacán* and one of them is killed, leaving the *milonguera* to grieve, alone or b) the *novio/taura*, and in some cases the *padre*, search fruitlessly for her, perhaps only catching a glimpse of her in her new lifestyle in which she is far removed from them as much by social class as she is by physical distance. At the date of recording “Cuando llora la milonga” (1927), this narrative was well developed in tango lyrics, thus Carnelli did not need to be explicit in describing the actions and rather allows her poetic vignette to suggest a familiar scene that is immediately evoked by the term *milonga* in the title.

In the published and recorded version of this song, the lyric describes the woman as *fiel*, relegating her to a passive role in the relationship. This collocation of

²⁰⁶ María Luisa Carnelli (1898 – 1987) was one of the few female composers of tango lyrics. She was born to a large, middle-class family (Cabrera; Dalbosco “Prestame” 183; Soler Cañas 48) and was well-educated. Carnelli became a writer, poet and journalist, publishing her first work of poetry at the age of twenty-four. Additionally she was a prolific author of tango lyrics, to which she generally signed one of her two pseudonyms, Luis Mario (an inverted, masculine version of her name) or Mario Castro (her son’s name) (Cabrera).

*mujer/fiel*²⁰⁷ was reported and counted in the data, giving evidence of the rare discourse prosody (F): *A/n X or Y is faithful* for a female, however there is an intriguing note to be added here. María Luisa Carnelli confided to tango scholar Roberto Selles that “[‘Cuando llora la milonga’] es mi letra más popular, pero no la que más me agrada, tuve que escribirla un poco a gusto del compositor,” and that the composer of the music, Juan de Dios Filiberto, changed the final verse of the second stanza (lines 4-7) “Y como un corazón, / el hueco de un zaguán, / recoge la oración / que triste dice cruel mujer” to “que triste dice fiel mujer,” an affront to which she was never reconciled (del Priore loc. 3031).²⁰⁸ Had the lyric remained in its original form, the adjective *cruel* would have completely changed the discourse, imparting agency to the woman; she must have taken some adverse action to have earned the epithet *cruel*.

If, as we must, we maintain as in the published version that the woman was *fiel*, then the underlying narrative must be that she was the inadvertent cause of the *novio*’s death, assuming that it is the *novio* who has died, as there would be little reason for her to lament the death of the *malevo* who was trying to seduce her; particularly as the last verse refers to “la historia [...] de un querer” (line 30). However, in this version the woman does not necessarily take an active role in this drama, being the ostensibly passive recipient of the attention of the two men. On the other hand, had the lyric retained the original wording, “cruel mujer,” then it is clear that she would have been an active agent of the drama. The implicature is that she had left the *novio* for the other man, or (WLM): *A/n X leaves a male or a place; A female leaves a/n Y*; the *novio* then made the classic confrontation, only to be killed by his rival. As it stands, these examples illustrate that for discourse prosodies (MLW): *A/n Y leaves a female or a place; A male leaves a/n X* and (WSM): *A/n X seeks a male; A female seeks a/n Y* pertaining to leaving, the woman tends to be the passive recipient of the act of desertion on the part of the man. It will be shown, in contrast, that where the

²⁰⁷ *Mujer/fiel*: logDice = 11.04.

²⁰⁸ There may also be implications here regarding the hierarchical positions of composer and lyricist pertaining to gender, however this is beyond the purview of this thesis.

discourse prosody (WLM): *A/n X leaves a male or a place; A female leaves a/n Y* is evidenced, including indirectly by prosody (MSW): *A/n Y seeks a female; A male seeks a/n X*, not only is it obvious that the woman is an active agent and participant in her departure, but also it will become clear that her leaving is conflated with her ambition, and that it is the male narrator's reaction to this that construes negative perceptions of the woman rather than the act of leaving itself. Again, the corpus linguistics methodology of this research is responsible for uncovering these less immediately discernible patterns.

The theme of fidelity and, less conspicuously, loyalty, is prevalent in many tango lyrics. These are manifested differently between the sexes, particularly with regards infidelity. For males in lyrics of this category, betrayal is related to fraternal love or friendship between two men and may be viewed more in the sense of disloyalty.²⁰⁹ Two lyrics, “A la luz del candil” and “Noche de reyes,” (Curi) demonstrate this in very different ways. The second, “Noche de reyes,” exposes the disloyalty of the friend by means of irony: “comprobé que me engañaba / con el amigo²¹⁰ más fiel” (lines 11-12), placing the blame unequivocally on the woman. On the other hand, “A la luz del candil” is one of the more macabre lyrics in tango: as the protagonist turns himself in to the police for murdering his faithless lover and treacherous friend, he offers proof of his crime: “Las pruebas de la infamia / las traigo en la maleta: / las trenzas de mi china / y el corazón de él” (lines 21-24). He has declared that “mi amigo era un sotreta [loser]”²¹¹ (line 18), decrying his unreliability in a direct manner. Additionally, the artifacts that he chooses to represent their betrayal support this portrayal of male fidelity: her braids, a symbol of her superficial, physical beauty as well as the innocence she would have been presumed to espouse, are the trophy, whereas it is the heart of his friend that he has extracted and carries with him,

²⁰⁹ Interestingly, both (I): *A/n X or Y is unfaithful* and (F): *A/n X or Y is faithful* were formed only with standard Spanish terms, not *lunfardo*; this might be explained for the male terms in discourse prosody (F) in that it has been shown that MS terms tend to form positive discourse prosodies, however it is not clear why this is the case for female terms in (F) or either gender in (I).

²¹⁰ *Amigo/fiel*: logDice = 11.47.

²¹¹ *Amigo/sotreta*: logDice = 9.07.

symbolizing the emotional importance of the friendship, thereby emphasizing the depths of the betrayal.

For women, in contrast, infidelity in tango lyrics appears to be related to sexual/romantic love rather than sororal loyalty. Furthermore, I argue that a woman's infidelity as evidenced in the appearance of discourse prosody (I): *A/n X or Y is unfaithful* may be taken as a covert form of the similarly masked discourse prosody, (WLM): *A/n X leaves a male or a place; A female leaves a/n Y*. While concurrently accusing the female of infidelity, the male confesses that she has abandoned him, as in the verse "mujer infiel que me has dejado" (line 10) from "El gigoló (Querime ñata)" (Roldán, "El gigoló"). While *mujer* displays a very good collocation with *infiel*,²¹² nevertheless it is the fact that her infidelity manifests itself in her active desertion of the *gigoló* that is significant. This tango does not explicitly involve another man, therefore we do not know if the accusation is based on a rival or merely on the fact that she no longer loves him ("pues la ingrata que su amor llevó / ya no lo quiere," lines 3-4), however the fact remains that she has left, the present perfect tense of the verb *has dejado* unquestionably conferring agency. Either she has gone and is therefore unfaithful, or infidelity has been employed as a means of leaving the relationship. Considering, in this lyric at least, the man's economically dependent and therefore undesirable status as a *gigoló*, it is probable that the woman views this betrayal by desertion as an advantageous maneuver.

A common consequence of female abandonment in tango lyrics is the inevitable pursuit by the jilted male. The discourse prosody (MSW): *A/n Y seeks a female; A male seeks a/n X* indirectly supports the postulation of women's agency through departure that is more directly represented in the prosody (WLM): *A/n X leaves a male or a place; A female leaves a/n Y*, hence the two are interrelated. In "Dicen que dicen," a man recounts his search for and subsequent murder of the woman who left him. In his third person narrative of events, he first presents her infidelity as motive for desertion, "prendida de otros amores perros / la mina aquella

²¹² *Mujer/infiel*: logDice = 10.68.

se le había alzado”²¹³ (lines 15-16), the *mina/alzado*²¹⁴ collocation establishing discourse prosody (WLM). The description of his reaction that follows, “el taura manso buscó²¹⁵ / a la paica por cielo y tierra” (lines 19-20) establishes the corresponding discourse prosody (MSW): *A/n Y seeks a female; A male seeks a/n X*. The conclusion of the tale, the girl being strangled by the man, underscores her implied motivation for abandoning him: beyond being moved by “amores perros,” justifiable fear of his physical abuse and retaliation quite likely prompted her to leave.

In a less grisly example of this prosody, a father and the jilted boyfriend/fiancé ineffectually search the *arrabal* for the girl. Both *padre*²¹⁶ and *novio*²¹⁷ collocate with the verb *buscar* in “Organito de la tarde” (Romano 60-61): “Desde entonces es que padre y novio / van buscando por el arrabal” (lines 38-39). In a narrative directly related to tango lifestyle, the *novio* was once the toast of the *barrio* and acclaimed as a dancer:

cuentan que el rengo era su novio
y que en el corte no tuvo igual,
supo con ella, y en las milongas,
con aquel tango triunfar.
(lines 30-33)

However, “[...] un forastero, / bailarín, buen mozo y peleador” (lines 34-35) lures her away; she has left her fiancé for a man who can provide her with a better level of dancing and presumably, therefore, a better lifestyle. Apart from covertly signaling a female’s agency, both examples of this discourse prosody additionally reveal shifts in the norms of masculinity as expressed in tango. In both cases, the males have “lost”

²¹³ It seems improbable that *alzarse* is used here in its second sense, “exitarse sexualmente,” although it could imply that the man was a sexual sadist, given the outcome of the narrative. In this context, however, “alzarse” principally signifies “irse,” the first definition of the *lunfardo* term (Conde *Diccionario* 42).

²¹⁴ *Mina/alzado*: logDice = 9.39.

²¹⁵ *Taura/buscó*: logDice = 11.83.

²¹⁶ *Padre/van buscando*: logDice = 9.02.

²¹⁷ *Novio/van buscando*: logDice = 8.89.

the female, and their consequential emasculation is represented in their loss of control, and therefore dominance, over the women. As pushback against the female's undoing of gender norms, represented here by her departure, the male attempts to regain control by seeking her in order to return her to his dominion. This discourse prosody is therefore doubly revealing: it uncovers an expression of female agency as manifested by a woman's departure while it simultaneously exposes a small chink in the armor of hegemonic masculinity.

Twenty collocations of female terms over eleven lyrics presented this discourse prosody in Category A, a markedly high quantity compared with the remaining discourse prosodies.²¹⁸ One of the first lyrics to develop this prosody of female desertion was "Mi noche triste (Lita)" in 1915. The opening verse, "Percanta que me amuraste" (line 1), is now iconic to tango, and with the high collocation between *percanta* and *amuraste*,²¹⁹ epitomizes this prosody, meriting a mention here. There is no motivation given for her departure, no rival in love, only the protagonist's lovesickness at her absence; we are left to wonder and imagine at the cause. Aside from romantic or pecuniary causes, there is one notable exception to the reasons for a woman's departure in "La biaba de un beso" (Gobello *Letras* 177-8): the young woman's involuntary absence is due to her apparent work-related death, described in the following lines (23-26):

Ni fue la ganzúa, ni fue el palanquín
de un taura malevo que la pretendía,
lo que abrió a la piba del que la quería

sino fue un trabajo miserable y ruin.

It wasn't a lockpick, or even the crowbar
of a bold-faced thug who wanted her,
that pried the kid from the one who loved
her
rather it was a miserable and vile job.

²¹⁸ Discourse prosody (G): *A/n X or Y is good or displays moral traits* had twenty-five collocations for male terms and twenty-one for female terms, prosody (B): *A/n X or Y is bad or displays immoral traits* had twenty-three for female terms; the remaining prosodies had fewer than twenty collocations for either gender.

²¹⁹ *Percanta/amuraste*: logDice = 10.30.

She is not guilty of infidelity in this case, however the implication is that her departure from the socially acceptable environs of hearth and home to that of harsh working conditions led to her demise. In all other cases the woman has either simply vanished from the home environment, left for a more advantageous relationship, or embarked on a search for a life better than that offered to her in the confines of the *conventillo*. Notably in each case, the leaving is related as a past event, including in Enrique Santos Discépolo's hilarious lyric "Victoria" in which the narrator repeatedly rejoices over his wife's absconding to be with another man, "¡se fue mi mujer!"²²⁰ (lines 4, 13, 33, 42). Although customarily the female has not been given the opportunity of exercising her autonomy in the narratives of the lyrics, her reported departure and absence are nevertheless inevitable, a *fait accompli* that the man is left to confront as best he can. What is told explicitly in the lyrics is from the narrative perspective of the male who has been abandoned, what is implicit in the "hidden" discourse prosodies created with these terms and uncovered by the data analysis is the unremarked efforts of the woman who has managed to find her agency and therefore her ability to leave. Uncontrovertibly, she is often judged harshly for her decision, as is the daughter of *el viejo criollo* in "Talán, talán" (Romano 77-78): "su hija mala dejó"²²¹ el hogar" (line 23-24). Because she has abandoned the socially sanctioned realm of the home in exchange for that of the *milonga* she is labeled "*desdichada*," in spite of the fact that she has evidently achieved a degree of financial success. This is shown by her fleeting appearance in an automobile, when she is critically viewed and condemned by the poetic voice as "medio dopada de humo y champán" (line 34). In spite of this thinly-veiled censure, nevertheless she has made her way out of the *arrabal*; for better or for worse, the woman in these lyrics has succeeded in finding her autonomy in order to at least marginally improve her lot in life.

The purpose of the preceding section has been to underscore the evidence of the less prominent discourse prosodies extracted by the methodology of this research,

²²⁰ *Mujer/fue*: logDice = 11.36, repeated four times.

²²¹ *Hija/dejó*: logDice = 11.54.

such as (WOM): *A/n X has power over a male; A female has power over a/n Y*; (A): *A/n X or Y is materialistic, is avaricious*; (S): *A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something* and those prosodies such as (MSW): *A/n Y seeks a female; A male seeks a/n X*, pertaining to a woman's implied departure, that give evidence of her agency. Whereas confirmation of more conspicuous prosodies is also indicated (e.g. LB, O, V, U, and LG, to name the top five), these shrouded, almost subliminal, prosodies are hereby brought to light. The high AME values and strong collocational scores of the study terms substantiate the formation and revelation of these discourse prosodies that indicate that the women in the lyrics enjoyed a higher degree of agency than is traditionally supposed. To further support these general observations, I will now turn to the analysis of a specific tango from this category, "Se cortó la redoblona," to illustrate this point.

5.3 “Se cortó la redoblona”

A lyric similar in narrative to “Mano a mano” but less pervasive in tango research, “Se cortó la redoblona,” written by Luis Roldán to music by Antonio Scatasso in the early 1920s, provides an example of the consequences of unrequited or failed love as well as a good distribution of both common and obscure discourse prosodies. Roldán was one of the earliest male tango lyricists and author of such tangos as “Maldito tango,” “Carne de cabaret,” “La tristeza del bulín,” who won fourth prize in Max Glücksmann’s 1925 competition, “Segundo Concurso del Disco Nacional,” for the lyrics to “Cacholo” (Pinsón, “Los concursos”).

The lyric begins with a man confronting a woman with criticism of her behavior. He describes her as an ambitious, conniving woman who presented herself as being more prosperous than she actually was in order to ensnare a man the narrator recognizes and deprecates as unworthy. He accuses her of having cast him off once she achieved her financial goals, but then finds humor in the situation as he realizes that she must have been skilled in deceit all along. After warning her that one day her new lover (or lovers) will tire of her, he vaguely offers to take her back saying, “ya sabes donde estoy yo” (line 32). The assonant rhyme scheme of the lyric does not follow any traditional pattern, but it does follow the octosyllabic structure of the *romance*.

As in the previous section, I will begin this analysis by turning to the AME values for the terms in this lyric as seen in Table 50. The first column lists the terms whose collocates were found to create discourse prosodies, in their order within the lyric, the second column shows the corresponding prosodies, the third the general AME value of each term for contributing to any discourse prosody, the fourth the AME value specific to the discourse prosody for the term in this particular lyric, and finally the fifth column lists the benchmark AME value for *piba* in the corresponding discourse prosody.

Table 50 AME Values for Terms in "Se cortó la redoblona" in Category A

<i>Terms (in order of appearance in lyric)</i>	<i>Discourse prosodies formed with this term in this lyric</i>	<i>AME value of this term for any & all discourse prosodies (upper limit based on AME of piba: 21.58%)</i>	<i>AME value of this term, for this discourse prosody, in this lyric</i>	<i>Upper limit based on AME of piba for this discourse prosody</i>
<i>milonga</i>	LB	19.64%	72.08%	79.18%
<i>grela</i>	G	11.29%	22.16%	42.34%
	S	11.29%	4.55%	8.70%
<i>garabita</i>	V	15.88%	35.44%	48.17%
	WOM	15.88%	7.49%	10.18%
<i>otario</i>	QMB	8.76%	13.50%	33.25%

From Table 50 it is evident that the term *milonga* is a clear predictor of prosody (LB): *A/n X or Y has a negative or bad lifestyle or behavior*, both due to the proximity of its general AME (19.64%) to the upper limit of 21.58% for the benchmark *piba*, and to its AME (72.08%) specific to (LB) as compared with the AME value of 79.18% for *piba* for (LB). Furthermore, the very definition of *milonga* (as an abbreviated form of *milonguera*) designates a lifestyle considered to be outside of socially accepted morality, and its highly reliable collocation with *vida*²²² further strengthens its link to this obvious discourse prosody. On the other hand, *grela* and *garabita* do not display as compelling predicted tendencies as *milonga* to form discourse prosodies generally. Nevertheless *grela* and *garabita* each have a strong enough presence in (G): *A/n X or Y is good or displays moral traits* and (V): *A/n X or Y's appearance or physical traits are significant*, respectively, to verify their contribution to creating those discourse prosodies. In spite of the fact that their AME values are lower for (S): *A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something* and (WOM): *A/n X has power over a male; A female has power over a/n Y*, I argue that the mere presence of these discourse prosodies associated with these two terms is meaningful given the significant statistical results for gender and variety overall, in that female and *lunfardo* terms were both shown to

²²² *Milonga/vida*. logDice score: 11.19.

have an effect on the formation of discourse prosodies, and are therefore remarkable with regards to the construction of less apparent discourse prosodies such as these. As with *milonga*, the definition of *otario* coincides with the discourse prosody associated with it, (QMB): *A/n X or Y displays certain negative or bad mental or emotional qualities*, created by the collocate *aburrir*,²²³ but is nevertheless interesting as an example of negative discourse prosody regarding a male *lunfardo* noun. Based on the AME values explained here and in Table 50, therefore, these four *lunfardo* terms have a quantifiably valid impact on creating the specific discourse prosodies in this lyric.

In the first verse of this song of unrequited love and alleged betrayal, the narrator immediately establishes a deprecatory tone towards his former partner²²⁴ when he refers to her lifestyle: “En tu vida de milonga” (line 1). *Milonga*, as applied in the lyric to name the woman, is a metonym for the dance hall, for the act of dancing *milonga* or tango, as well as for the lifestyle associated with tango and its environs. Said lifestyle is in direct conflict with both that of the “sacerdotisa del hogar” and the innocent and virtuous factory worker mentioned in section 2.6. Dancing tango, especially in the context of taxi dancing, involves multiple dance partners, which may be seen as representative of multiple sexual partners, an unacceptable practice for “decent” women charged with the task of building national identity through creating a stable domestic life.²²⁵ The collocate *vida* emphasizes the tango lifestyle while implying that it is a choice, one of many lives, or options, that the *milonga* has. The deictic possessive pronoun *tu* imparts ownership; it constrains responsibility for that choice upon her. And the apparent preference for a lifestyle deviating from acceptable societal norms suggests that there is something inherently bad in her nature.

After establishing her dubious position in society, he goes on to satirically praise her for achieving her social position: “pa' triunfar a toda costa / fuiste greña la

²²³ *Otario/se aburra*. logDice score: 11.19.

²²⁴ It should be noted here that at no point is it clearly stated in the lyric that she was in a romantic or sexual relationship with him; it is an assumption that the reader/listener might make based on the narrative of desertion for another man.

²²⁵ See chapter two, section 2.6 for the discussion on women's roles in this regard.

más posta, / más diquera que un bacán” [in order to triumph at any cost, / you were the top gal / more flashy than a swell] (lines 2-4). However, what superficially appears to be a statement of courtesy is in reality an oblique disparagement of her character, at best. Beginning with the verb *triunfar*, in this context it is applied in its second definition as “tener éxito,” but if we consider its primary meaning of “quedar victorioso” (RAE DLE), and also the fact that its five most frequent collocates from the 1800s and the 1900s are *causa, derecho, obstáculos, enemigos, fuerza* (Davies), it becomes evident that the narrator is applying the term in a more masculine context of winning battles or overcoming obstacles and not merely succeeding as a result of effort. “A toda costa” in this context reinforces the unfavorable assessment of her motives: *costa*, implying money or a price, is a metonym for the sacrifices made to achieve this triumph; these are traits that are generally viewed as admirable in a male, but are criticized in a female, and may even imply that she has prostituted herself, literally or figuratively, as indicated by the lexical choices in the next lines.

The third verse continues in this vein. The term *grela* was found to have formed the discourse prosody (G): *A/n X or Y is good or displays moral traits* in its collocation with *posta*, and while it ostensibly implies that the narrator admires the woman, his compliment is ironic given the lexical choices. According to Conde (*Diccionario* 175), *grela* is defined simply as “woman,” and given this connotation “la más posta” can be taken at its literal value as a compliment. However, Villamayor (127) gives *querida, amante* as the definition for *grela*, while the *Diccionario del habla de los argentinos* (Academia Argentina 368) lists it as a pejorative term for *mujer*,²²⁶ which implies a less complimentary connotation. The adverb *más* in conjunction with *posta* is an exaggeration, the redundancy of *más* emphasizing his contempt for her dubious achievement when viewed in conjunction with the previous accusation that she is capable of anything in order to succeed, including the implied prostitution. However, in spite of this derogatory representation by the narrator, she has, in fact, succeeded;

²²⁶ Interestingly, dating from the 1960s *grela* acquired the meaning “suciedad,” however it is not known how, or why this definition came into being (Conde *Diccionario* 175).

his sardonic condemnation inadvertently discloses her triumphant ability to transcend societal norms.

As seen in chapter four, positive discourse prosodies were more likely to be formed by male terms, often due to the fact that an otherwise negative trait was seen as admirable in a man; i.e. just as in other lyrics a *guapo* may be admired for his toughness and bravery even when he has committed a violent act or crime, here a *bacán* is admired for his acquisition and display of wealth. Nevertheless, the *lunfardo* adjective *diquera*, meaning “ostentatious,” originating from the Spanish *caló* verb *dicar*, “to see,” also derives from an idiomatic expression: *dar dique*, defined as “estafar a alguien, dándole a ver un objeto valioso para que compre y remplazándolo por otro sin valor en el momento del pago; engañar por apariencias” (Conde *Diccionario* 131). Therefore, in reference to the woman it is yet again a superficial tribute utilized in a pejorative manner: to display her newly acquired affluence so conspicuously in comparison with a *bacán*, and with such hyperbole, is to seek to deceive, to dazzle her admirers with a false image. Again, these are qualities that might be admired in a man, but when applied to a woman they become a focal point for criticism. Nevertheless, these verses further reveal the woman’s ambition and willingness to strive for her goals regardless of their nature, and this constitutes one of the more obscure discourse prosodies (in this case, (S): *A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something*) found in this lyric. In spite of the criticism, she *is* a “grela la más posta,” she *has* triumphed at all costs and now is “más diquera que un bacán”: she is a woman who has achieved economic success in a man’s world and, moreover, has surpassed the criteria for masculine success. The collocation of *posta* with *grela* extracted from the corpus data initially signaled this discourse prosody, prompting a more profound reading of the text, which in turn supports this theme.

Following this series of spurious compliments, he shifts to criticisms of her methods of acquiring wealth and of the man who is now ostensibly his rival. In the verse “y acoplaste tu ventura” (line 5) the verb *acoplar* is a paranomasia, playing on its dual meaning of joining along with that of breeding two animals, a clear

representation of her sexual union with the other man constituting animalistic and therefore repugnant behavior. As mentioned in chapter two (section 2.6), female sexual freedom was an idea that was promoted by anarchists and was therefore in direct conflict with societal conventions. Additionally, there is another possible pun of the word *ventura* with the *lunfardo* term *vento* (money) in the tenth line; her luck or “fortune” is linked to her avarice; certainly the phonetic similarities of the two words imply this connection. The association of the woman’s sexual freedom with animalistic behavior along with the economic freedom she may have acquired by shifting her affections to the *gilberto* (line 6) would therefore imply that the narrator is accusing her of being a whore, at the very least.

Turning to the male rival for a moment, there are four *lunfardo* words used to describe him throughout the lyric in the most unflattering terms: *gilberto*, *merlo*, *boncha*, and *otario*.²²⁷ *Gilberto* is a crossed term, a combination of *gil* and the name Gilberto (Conde *Diccionario* 172), and beyond humorously signifying someone who is naïve, indicates a “mark,” a victim of a thief or con artist. The *lunfardo* jibe *merlo* is a loanword from Italian, meaning *tonto* (*Diccionario* 219), while *otario* is a metaphor based on the scientific name for a sea lion (*otaria flavescens*), an animal that is perceived to be slow, unwieldy, stupid, and easily caught and killed (*Diccionario* 238). *Boncha* is an example of *vesre*, a metathesis in which the syllables of the word *chabón*, an adjective meaning *torpe*, *inhábil*, *inexperto* (*Diccionario* 105), are reversed. *Vesre* is accepted as being “lúdico, escéptico o burlón” (Conde *Lunfardo* 324), therefore the use of this form of the word is intended to add to the insult: the rival is already considered to be *torpe*, *cándido*, etc., but now the form of the word *boncha* itself further mocks the fool. The rival in love is ridiculed by the rejected lover, who characterizes him in the most emasculating way possible: a man who has been fooled by a woman. Ironically, of course, while he accuses the rival of being a *gil*, he was

²²⁷ Only *gil* (taken as the lemma of *gilberto*) and *otario* were included in the data, and *gilberto* did not form any discernible discourse prosodies in this lyric. *Merlo* and *boncha* appear only once each in the corpus, both in this lyric. *Gilberto* appears in line 6, and *merlo*, *boncha*, and *otario* in lines 13, 14, and 30, respectively.

himself duped by his former partner. Nevertheless, these representations of the romantic rival are in opposition to norms of masculinity and are principal, albeit infrequent, instances in which a man is portrayed in a negative light. As the data from chapter four verifies, again it is *lunfardo* that is used to present this negative image of males in this song.

The verses “a quien yo llevaba muerto / desde el pique sin peinar” (lines 7-8) provide evidentiality for this negativity, the deictic *a quien* signifying the *gilberto* in the previous line. “Llevar por muerto” is an expression meaning “tomarlo por fracasado,” related to *ir muerto*: *fracasar, no tener chance* (Da Veiga “Consulta”). The second line in this example employs slang from horseracing: *el pique*, the starting gate, and *peinar*, to spur the horse (RAE *DLE*). The narrator wishes to make it clear that, without having to ponder greatly, he perceives his rival as a failure and is therefore despicable, the phrase “yo llevaba muerto” comprising his evidence for this fact. His intention with these lines is to reveal his version of the truth about the woman and her new lover in order to diminish the humiliation of his loss. Moreover, the juxtaposition of the nouns *ventura* and *suerte* with *gilberto* in the first stanza confirm the unscrupulousness of the woman: *suerte* represents gambling, card playing, living the *bajo fondo* (underworld) life, and signals her intention to deceive by naming her new partner *gil* and identifying him as a victim of her deception.

Returning to the female protagonist, if she is indeed guilty of such deception as he claims, then this presents confirmation of another inconspicuous discourse prosody: (WOM): *A/n X has power over a male; A female has power over a/n Y*. If we accept the narrator’s assessment of the case, her power lies in her superior interpersonal skills that enabled her not only to delude him but to ensnare another victim as well. Regardless of any moral position, she has succeeded in being the agent for achieving her financial and social goals. Her agency is underscored in the first four verses of the third stanza: “Se cortó la redoblona, / me fallaste a la cabeza, / me dejaste de una pieza / sin saber dónde rumbiar” (lines 17-20) [“All bets are off, / you let me down as soon as you won / you did a number on me and left me / not knowing

which way to turn]. In this confessional outpouring, he admits and accepts that he's been deceived by her from the very beginning, utilizing slang from gambling, particularly from the racetrack, to create metaphors that fall within a palatable masculine purview: a *redoblona* is a bet that is allowed to "ride," i.e. the winnings from one bet are rolled over into another (Conde *Diccionario* 279). "Se cortó la redoblona" may be translated as "all bets are off," and lines 19 and 20 make it evident that he is referring to himself: the good times have ended and his happiness is over. In *quiniela* (a game of chance), "a la cabeza" is used to indicate that the first prize has been drawn (Academia Argentina 540), therefore this expression in the lyric is a metaphor for the beginning or an easy success. She was with him at the beginning, when all was happiness, but as soon as she was able she took advantage of him (i.e. took his prize) to get ahead and to leave him. This and the next verse, "me dejaste de una pieza" (line 19), all demonstrate her agency via the verb *dejar* and the expression "de una pieza," the latter in the connotation of "sorprendido o admirado por haber visto u oído algo extraordinario o inesperado." (RAE *DLE*). Finally, his shock is manifested in the metaphor *rumbiar*, representing his inability to take action following her alleged betrayal. *Lunfardo* is undoubtedly utilized here to embed a masculine point of view in the narrative, nevertheless it inadvertently contributes to the creation of a hitherto unrecognized discourse prosody reflecting women's persistent quest for agency and autonomy under the aegis of patriarchy.

Her conduct and motivation in achieving her ends are examined in the second stanza, in which he offers a rationale for her conduct ("Hoy que estás enfarolada, / que juntaste mucho vento" (lines 9-10)), gives its initial result ("me largás a barlovento, / de mi pinta te esgunfiás" (lines 11-12)), as well as a secondary result ("porque lo cachaste al merlo" (line 13)), and explains how this was possible ("y está el boncha más metido / que peludo dolorido / en la cueva de tu amor" (lines 14-16)) while exonerating himself from all blame for the breakdown of their relationship. Translation and explication of these lines follows here. She is to blame for becoming a financial success and is therefore "inebriated" by all the money (*vento*). In standard Spanish, a

farol is a street lamp; in *lunfardo*, it is a “vaso grande de bebida, generalmente de vino” (Conde *Diccionario* 154), the participle *enfarolada* [drunk] becoming a metaphor for being “lit up” by wine, or for allowing success to have gone to her head. The only explanation he can accept for her abandonment of him is her altered state, which, if we accept the previously mentioned pun with *ventura*, he attributes to her arbitrarily venturing her fate in pursuit of monetary gain.

In standard Spanish, *largar* is *soltar*, *dejar libre* (RAE DLE), however in *lunfardo* the meaning is subtly transposed to *entregar*, *dar* (Conde *Diccionario* 197). *Barlovento* refers to a place where the wind originates, so in essence she has cast him to the wind, but the phonetic similarity to the words *vento* and *ventura* perpetuates the images of avariciousness and arbitrariness created in the previous stanza. Regardless of the accusatory tone, he still imparts agency to her in the active voice of the verb *largar* as well as of the verbs in the next two verses, *esgunfiar* and *cachar*.

In pretentious courtesy he refers to his *pinta*, i.e. *elegancia* (*Diccionario* 260), as annoying to her. The *lunfardo* verb *esgunfiar* is derived from the Italian *gonfiare*, which signifies “inflar, hinchar –i coglioni: los cojones” (Conde *Diccionario* 146) and is therefore a metonym for being disgusted or angry, but via a decidedly disagreeable masculine allusion. This is followed by her having “caught” or “hunted” the *merlo*; *cachar* derives from the Spanish *cazar*, the Italian *caciare*, both meaning “to hunt,” and the *porteño* meaning *engañar*, *trampear* (*Diccionario* 77). Therefore, the use of *cachar* presents a complicated paranomasia, playing on all possible connotations: “you caught him unawares,” “you took him for a fool,” “you mocked him by tricking him,” “you tricked him,” and “you hunted him.” It is noteworthy that several of the allusions in this stanza are to obviously masculine spaces, attributes, and activities: *barlovento*, a maritime reference to the wind, *enfarolarse*, referring to becoming drunk, with particular allusion to the street lamp²²⁸ as opposed to the home, *juntar vento*, to earning money, *esgunfiar*, a male anatomical reference to denote annoyance, and

²²⁸ Additionally, the *farol* is an iconic image of tango, including appearances in lyrics as well as artistic representations, currently commercially exploited and used in tourism marketing.

cachar, to catch someone unawares, related to the hunt. Although the narrator's intent is to insult, the message reveals itself: from his perspective at least, for a woman to succeed in the world of tango she must take on the attributes of a man.

The final three verses of this stanza focus on the rival, here referred to as *el boncha*, discussed previously. Again, the narrator denigrates his rival's status by referring to him with the definite article *el*, thereby objectifying him, as well as by using the passive voice, "está...metido" (line 14); the other man is deprived of agency. Here begins another complex wordplay centering on the term *peludo*. In Argentina and Uruguay, a *peludo* is a type of armadillo, which resides in burrows in the earth (RAE DLE). Additionally, *peludo* is a *lunfardo* euphemism for *pedo*, or *borrachera* (Conde *Diccionario* 252). "Dolorido" implies either physical or emotional pain, thus the rival is made to appear even more pathetic by being compared to an "aching/distressed drunk/armadillo." The verb *meter* is "to put into" or "to get into," alluding to the armadillo's burrowing, but also having the obvious sexual connotations relating to copulation, while in *lunfardo*, *meterse* means "enamorarse de alguien" (*Diccionario* 220). "La cueva de tu amor" is unmistakably a metaphor for female genitalia, as well as a reference to the armadillo's burrow, therefore "[...] más metido / que peludo dolorido / en la cueva de tu amor" becomes a lewd metaphor for the utter infatuation that the rival apparently feels for the woman. It should be noted that *metido* and "cueva de tu amor" are the first and only instances of any direct references to the idea of love, whether romantic or sexual. In spite of this forceful comparison, the implication is that the infatuation has more to do with lust than with love, that her *merlo* is only interested in her for sex; furthermore the narrator implies that she has no feelings for the *boncha*. However he (the *gil/merlo/boncha/otario*), at least, is enthralled by her, disclosing once again a less readily discernible discourse prosody (WOM): *A/n X has power over a male; A female has power over a/n Y*; her power lies in her capacity to hold the man through love or sex.

Much of the third stanza was discussed previously in the section commenting on the woman's agency, however there are additional points of interest to examine

here. Until this point in the narrative, the singer has been lambasting his former inamorata, however following his confession of being a victim of her duplicity, he appears to attempt to recover by offering an explanation for his having been taken in: she must have had extensive experience and have been highly skilled at deceit. He laughs at her *aspamento*,²²⁹ or ostentation, in false bravado, and then delivers another spuriously courteous assessment of her behavior: “que hasta en eso se precisa / tener cancha pa sobrar...” (lines 23-24). Both the deictic *eso* and the use of the impersonal *se precisa* rather than the active *precisarías*, for example, imply his disdain for her skills. *Tener cancha* is to have experience (Conde *Diccionario* 85), purportedly a positive trait, and *sobrar* in standard Spanish is *superar, exceder*, also outwardly positive. Nevertheless, in *lunfardo* the verb *sobrar* is “Tratar a los demás con suficiencia y aires de superioridad” (*Diccionario* 291), and therefore the linguistic act of courtesy becomes an insult indicating that the only way she could have achieved her ends must have been due to the fact that she was both skilled and experienced in deceit and that she is despicable for pretentiousness.

In the final stanza, the narrator continues in his attempt to justify his position. He confesses that she has surpassed him, he appears to concede and compliment her, yet the purported courtesy carries an underlying patronization. He uses the outwardly endearing diminutive *garabita* in seeming affection followed by the Italian expression *piú bella* in compliment of her beauty. However, the diminutive ultimately juvenilizes her, makes her smaller, while the reference to her appearance objectifies her, particularly as the definite article *la* is used before the descriptor. A straightforward compliment, for example “garabita, sos tan bella,” would have personalized the woman and allowed her to retain her agency while maintaining the octosyllabic meter.

In spite of this, his very admission of defeat reveals another inadvertent concession of female agency by admitting “Me ganaste en la llegada” (line 25). As a collocate with *garabita*,²³⁰ *ganar* may be taken as a metaphor for “seduced,” and

²²⁹ *Aspamento* is a metathesis of *aspaviento* (Conde *Diccionario* 50).

²³⁰ *Garabita/ganaste*: LogDice = 10.00.

llegada presents another sexual innuendo: as a noun, it is the *turf* slang for “meta en el hipódromo” (García Blaya et al.) and as the *lunfardo* verb *llegar*, it signifies “Alcanzar el orgasmo, acabar, irse” (Conde *Diccionario* 202). He is confessing that he was ensnared by her sexual favors, or in other words, that she had power over him via sex, resulting in the discourse prosody (WOM): *A/n X has power over a male; A female has power over a/n Y*.

Having referred to her physical beauty, the narrator then proceeds to allude to another fictitious beauty: Cinderella. Although “Cinderella” is not a *lunfardo* cultural marker, the allusion ties in to both the references to her appearance and her allegedly false innocence. In the third and fourth verses, the narrator tells the woman “Continúa la cinderella / ya que el juego se te dio...” (lines 27-28). The tale of “Cinderella” has ties to myths dating back several millennia, the primary motifs of this story type²³¹ being those of a persecuted heroine, her inherent traits of modesty and virtuousness, her states of poverty and hardship, and her ultimate marriage to a man who is above her in socioeconomic status (Anderson 24-42). All contemporary commercialized versions notwithstanding, in its traditional renditions “Cinderella” is a tale of female empowerment in the face of hardship and oppression. The heroine is not only oppressed, but in order to save herself from her situation and attract the attention of the hero who will provide her with security she must complete a series of apparently impossible tasks while retaining her integrity. Ultimately it is her own virtue and her own efforts that save her; the prince and their marriage are simply the logical denouement of the story. Therefore, in this tango “*la cinderella*” is a metonym for the “rags to riches” process for women. The ostensible implicatures derived from this figure are: 1) the woman was impoverished and somehow persecuted, 2) like Cinderella, she was modest and virtuous, and 3) she has succeeded in finding her “Prince Charming.”

However, the narrator has co-opted the “Cinderella” story for his revenge. Rather than being a tale of virtue rewarded, it becomes a cynical accusation of

²³¹ “Cinderella” is an AT Type 510 folktale (Anderson 197).

deviousness against a female who allegedly uses her tale of hardship, coupled with her charms, to elicit male pity, in order to procure economic support from one male after another. To her, in the narrator's view, and given the juxtaposition of the word *juego* in the next verse, it is only a "game." *Juego* becomes a metaphor for her strategy and its implementation. The intrinsic associations of the words *cinderella* and *juego* with childhood innocence and play are contradicted by her alleged deceit, while simultaneously the links to childish elements are an attempt to diminish her agency and realization of her sexual power epitomized by her rejection of him and choice of another man, as does the use of the diminutive, *garabita*, in line 26. Furthermore, the objectifying use of the definite article "*la*" indicates that Cinderella is merely a role to be played by the woman; in his view she does not innately embody the qualities of the archetype. It is clear that he sees her Cinderella-like dreams of success through love as childish fantasy; not only is she a false Cinderella, but she is a child who doesn't understand the consequences of her actions. By using the imperative, *continúa*, he passive-aggressively gives her permission to keep behaving in the manner of her choice. Evoking "Cinderella" and inverting the morality of the story is an ironic attempt to revoke that very power of choice and female self-determination that is the crux of the fairytale. These attempts notwithstanding, the association with the Cinderella myth is compelling and may cause the listener to doubt, ever so slightly, the spurned lover's cynical assessment of her behavior, hinting at less censorious and covert discourse prosodies regarding women.

Finally, he appears to undergo a complete change of heart in the last four verses, reinforcing the possibility that the real *gil* is himself and not his rival through a thinly veiled warning and a passive offer of help. In the verse "Y mañana si te amuran" (line 29), he references a vague future (*mañana*), and his "if" is an implicature that illustrates that he actually believes that she *will* be abandoned by her new lover, just as she abandoned him, reinforced by the assertion of the next verse, "cuando se aburra el otario" (line 30). The if/when formula renders the second *si* another certainty: although he says *if*, he believes that it *will* happen. Additionally, the plural

form of the verb *amurar* and the objectifying application of the definite article *el* before *otario* imply that her current companion will be one of many, that she will repeatedly attach herself to other men who will all eventually grow tired of her and reject her, comprising the warning that prefaces the offer he is about to make. He concedes her some agency at this point, placing himself in a passive position, “si vos me creés necesario” (line 31), allowing her to think of him as necessary rather than stating that she will actively need him, and that she already knows where to find him. He offers her a chance to actively choose to return to him and to their past.

Ultimately, it is impossible to know the resolution of this particular story, much the same as for the vast majority of other tango narratives regarding lost or unrequited love. The lyric does not reveal how the woman perceives the situation, other than through the gaze of the male narrator who witnesses her apparent gratification at her new life (“hoy que estás enfarolada / que juntaste mucho vento” (lines 9-10)); the reader/listener can conclude that she is satisfied with the transition. His offer is then doubly pathetic: not only has he failed to retain her romantic and fiscal interest, but presumably the likelihood that she will find herself “in need of him” seems remote. It is an empty, impotent offer. Moreover, his humiliation is complete, in spite of his bravado in laughing at her depravity, since by his own admission she has “played” him. She manipulated him for her early success and then found a new, richer man to support her, thereby distancing herself from her former lover. Her “triumph” may or may not be fleeting, yet the fact remains that she did engineer her escape and achieve her immediate financial goals. The discourse prosodies created by the *lunfardo* terms in this lyric undeniably construct this representation of male and female roles in tango with respect to themes of love.

5.4 Conclusion

The otherwise obscure discourse prosodies discussed in reference to this category of lyrics (Category A) reveal ways in which women, specifically, are engaged in “undoing gender,” thereby evoking resistance (Deutsch 122) against societal norms of gender performance. In spite of the ostensibly patriarchal perspective constructed

by the male lyricist via the male narrator of “Se cortó la redoblona,” the presence of prosodies such as (S): *A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something* and (WOM): *A/n X has power over a male; A female has power over a/n Y*, provide the first indications that there is more behind this narrative than mere expressions of frustrated hegemonic masculinity. Scrutiny of collocational relationships and evaluation of statistical predictors, the underpinnings of this research, have proven invaluable in substantiating these revelations pertaining to gender in tango lyrics. The next chapter will consider male and female gender as characterized in tango and how this is particularly expressed by the use of *lunfardo* in lyrics from Category P, *Personajes*.

Chapter Six. Representations of Gender in Category P, *Personajes*: “Desde piba” and “Primer agua”

6.1 Introduction

As in the previous chapter, the results from the data analysis have driven the selection of the lyrics to be scrutinized in conjunction with their respective discourse prosodies. However, the focus will now shift from the relational position of men and women in tango songs to the iconic characterizations of tango males and females within the thematic category of *Personajes*. As presented in chapter one, tango lyrics portray masculinities and femininities as culturally constructed in late nineteenth to early twentieth century Buenos Aires and Montevideo. The same criteria were applied as those used in selecting lyrics from Category A, *Amor y desamor*: namely the richness and distribution of discourse prosodies over this subset of the corpus, the frequencies of the terms referring to men and women, their respective AME (Average Marginal Effects) values, and the limited appearance of the lyrics in other research. I will begin by discussing the overarching findings regarding the discourse prosodies found in this category, and then I will continue with a close reading of two lyrics, “Primer agua” and “Desde piba,” highlighting the pragmatic and rhetorical aspects as before. While this chapter will briefly examine some of the more common discourse prosodies and the unique ways in which they build images of gender in the lyrics, primarily it will call attention to discourse prosodies that might be less readily discernible without the corpus methodology employed in this research.

6.2 Discourse prosodies in Category P: *Personajes*

As outlined in chapter one, the creation of the tango category themes was inspired by José Gobello’s proposed theory of tango centering on lyrics he designated as Villoldian and Contursian (Gobello *Letras* 11-12). In my classification of tango themes, Category A, *Amor y desamor*, focuses on narratives pertaining to love and was discussed in chapter five, whereas Category P, *Personajes*, involves, as the title would

imply, the traits of individuals as portrayed by the lyrics. There is a strong association in this category with the composer Villoldo, the so-called “Padre de tango” (Pinsón “Biografía”); Villoldo’s lyrics are characterized by the pervasive use of first person poetic voice (Rivadeneira 34) in which the narrator generally expounds on his/her attributes. Classic examples of this are found in “El Porteño” and “La Morocha,” both authored by Villoldo, the former illustrating many of the qualities of masculinity found in tango lyrics and the latter representing an ideal of femininity.²³² However, not all of the lyrics in this category are first person narratives, and, as stated previously, lyrics were frequently assigned to more than one thematic category (but no more than three). Lyrics are considered on the basis of their first respective category identification as pertaining to *Personajes*.

6.2.1 Abandonment, Avarice, and Ambition in Category P

In chapter five I maintained that a woman’s act of leaving, whether she is abandoning a man, a home, or a way of life, may be construed as corroborating evidence of her ambition to surmount the hardships of her life, and that these themes comprise obscure discourse prosodies in the lyrics. I will continue that discussion in this section with respect to Category P, and will then move on to elaborate on discourse prosodies that contribute more directly to illustrations of pre-existing social gender constructions in the corpus. In this category, the tango “Loca” is the only instance of the discourse prosody (WLM): *A/n X leaves a male or a place; A female leaves a/n Y*, however it does support the view that the woman’s departure is an act of self-determination. “Loca” is a self-reflective lyric, the first person poetic voice being that of a woman who speaks of her fallen state through pragmatic evidentiality proffered by her friends (“loca me llaman mis amigos”; line 1 and “loca me dicen mis amigos,” line 24), who only perceive her “liviana amor” (line 3) or her apparently frivolous and licentious life. She, however, then goes on to reflect on her true mental state, in which she expresses the remorse and pain she suffers and hides behind a

²³² See chapter one, section 1.1.3 for the theoretical discussion on gender and for the discussion on “El Porteño” and “La Morocha” with regards to tango masculinity and femininity.

happy facade. The standard Spanish term *muchacha* created this discourse prosody, and although its AME values, either for all discourse prosodies or specifically for (WLM) are approximately half of those for the benchmark upper limit for *piba*, its collocation with the verb *huir*²³³ in the fifth stanza (lines 35-38: “La vida y su encanto era / una muchacha que huyó / sin decirles dónde fuera... / y esa muchacha soy yo.”) has an exceptionally high level of confidence (LogDice = 13.00). The AME values are shown in Table 51:

Table 51 AME Values for (WLM): A/n X leaves a male or a place; A female leaves a/n Y in Category P

<i>Terms for discourse prosody WLM, Cat. P</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody WLM, Cat. P</i>
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 12.80%
Female:		
<i>muchacha</i> (S)	10.04%	5.96%
Male:		
n/a		

In other words, due to this strong collocational relationship with *muchacha*, the use of this particular verb rather than any other, such as *irse*, *marcharse*, *partir*, implies that the *muchacha* had strong motivations for leaving, or reasons that compelled her to flee rather than merely leave. Regardless of whether that decision ultimately led to a better life (in this case, it clearly did not), the unmistakable implicature in *huir* is that the flight not only signals her departure from an undesirable life, but also her striving towards a future that would be, minimally, different and potentially improved. When viewed in conjunction with the data for discourse prosodies (A): A/n X or Y is *materialistic*, *is avaricious* and (S): A/n X or Y is *ambitious*, *strives for something*, it becomes clear that the expectation of a woman who leaves the idealized safety of the

²³³ *Muchacha/huyó*: LogDice = 13.00.

barrio is that she will find a life that she perceives to be preferable to the one she has led thus far. In highlighting the aforementioned collocational relationships, the methodology of this research promotes such comparisons and calls attention to the connections between the semantic links.

The discourse prosodies reflecting greed and ambition, (A): *A/n X or Y is materialistic, is avaricious* and (S): *A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something*, manifest themselves frequently in Category P. The AME values for *mujer*, as seen in Table 52, demonstrate good predictability for discourse prosody (A):

Table 52 AME Values for (A): *A/n X or Y is materialistic, is avaricious* in Category P

<i>Terms for discourse prosody (A), Cat. P</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody A, Cat. P</i>
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 5.30%
<u>Female:</u>		
<i>Mujer</i> (S)	17.38%	4.27%
<u>Male:</u>		
n/a		

Consistent with the statistical findings pertaining to gender and affect discussed in chapter four²³⁴, a female term contributes to creating this more generally negative prosody; as indicated, there are no terms referring to males in this prosody for Category P. Greed is not highlighted in tango lyrics as a negative trait in men, perhaps as the acquisition of wealth is seen to fall within the natural purview of masculinity in that the male is either expected to be the primary provider for the family or in that he is portrayed as already possessing a degree of financial independence.²³⁵ This is seen in the lyric “Muchacho” (Romano 71-2), in the collocations of *disponés* and *capital* with *mujer*.²³⁶ A woman’s avariciousness is

²³⁴ See Table 34, section 4.3.4.

²³⁵ See chapter one, section 1.1.3, and chapter two, section 2.6.

²³⁶ *Mujer/disponés (disponer)*: LogDice = 10.75; *mujer/capital*: LogDice = 12.68.

revealed indirectly here by the declaration that it is necessary for the young man to possess a great deal of money in order to enjoy the company of women in the verses “para farras y mujeres / disponés de un capital” (lines 5-6). Although it may be implied, it is not known here whether this refers to the commodification of women in the extreme, namely, prostitution, or simply in that which is imposed by patriarchal norms and which presume that a man is responsible for financing a woman’s entertainment; regardless, she is viewed in this negative light as a commodity that requires remittance for her social participation. On rare occasion, men in this category are also depicted as being acquisitive, as will be shown in the discussion of the lyric “Primer agua” further in this chapter.

Similarly, a woman’s ambition primarily revolves around material gain as presented by discourse prosody (S): *A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something*, although it is occasionally represented as stemming from achievement in social mobility. Interestingly, in spite of the tendency for *lunfardo* terms to generate negative discourse prosodies, in this instance there is a preponderance of female *lunfardo* terms contributing to this generally positive trait. *Papusa*, *garaba*, and *bacana* all present strong AME values relative to the benchmark *piba*, as shown here in Table 53:

Table 53 AME Values for (S): *A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something* in Category P

<i>Terms for discourse prosody S, Cat. P</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody S, Cat. P</i>
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 8.70%
Female:		
<i>papusa</i> (L)	16.99%	6.85%
<i>garaba</i> (L)	15.88%	6.40%
<i>bacana</i> (L)	13.47%	5.43%
<i>reina</i> (S)	12.92%	5.21%
<i>bataclana</i> (L)	6.85%	2.76%
Male:		
<i>rey</i> (S)	12.83%	5.17%

In tango lyrics, female economic independence is often perceived by the male narrator as one cause of failed relationships. Indeed, Archetti argues that in tango lyrics material wealth is superficial and causes suffering, whereas romantic love based on sexuality, friendship and mutual understanding is the ideal (*Masculinities* 148). In Archetti's view, and from the perspective of the male poetic voice in the lyrics, a woman's desire for material gain is conflated with immorality. Although Category P presents less of a causal relationship regarding ambition and failed relationships, nevertheless, the subtext created by these two discourse prosodies does disclose a glimmer of hope for women: that economic independence or stability can be a measure of success for females, allowing them to achieve a degree of upward mobility in social status approaching that of men. Nevertheless, "Garabita" (Gobello *Letras* 103-4) depicts a young woman who can only dream of material luxuries, the term *garabita* collocating twice with *champán*²³⁷ giving a strong hint of her desires. Additionally she dreams "con un lindo traje nuevo / con adornos de astracán!" (lines 11-12), the material change in her attire, along with that of her physical appearance: "En pintarte las ojeras / y los labios colorados" (lines 13-14), which would allow her to enter a social sphere that is above her poverty and misery ("pa' correr con los muchachos / esas farras de champán"; lines 15, 16). In the case of this lyric, her ambition is not realized, and she is relegated to her penury ("Has nacido pa'l arroyo / preferís las zapatillas / las miserias y el dolor"; lines 18-20) with the admonition that she is better off than if her dreams were fulfilled. Regardless, this lyric, and specifically these discourse prosodies, reveal the perceived nature of women's goals: material gain is requisite to attaining social mobility.

This is not to suggest that the acquisition of material goods will result in an elevation to the upper echelons of society; at most the lyrics reflect the woman's success or failure in escaping from the poverty of the *conventillo*, in attaining the relative luxury of life in the cabaret or in becoming a mistress in an "apartamento /

²³⁷ *Garabita/champán*: LogDice = 10.42.

Como tienen los bacanes”²³⁸ representing the apex of possible achievement. In “La reina del tango” (Cadícamo “La reina”), that accomplishment is shown by the woman’s realization of status within tango hierarchy: “sos reina del tango, / papusa ruflera” [you’re the queen of tango, / beautiful tramp] (lines 9-10), in which the collocation of *papusa*²³⁹ with *reina*²⁴⁰ underlies her dramatic rise to the status of queen. However, the lower-class status of tango is evinced by the use of the *lunfardo* term *papusa* and the collocation of the adjective *ruflera*, signifying a lowlife, diminishing her achievement in attaining prowess in tango and rendering the accolade ironic. In the lyric “Traviesa,” the female narrator refers to her “humos²⁴¹ de bacana” (line 30), airs of a wealthy woman, as empowering her to defeat her female rivals on the dance floor, however the insubstantiality of the metaphor only implies that she has approached the status of a *bacana* but may not necessarily have achieved it, contributing to the humor of the lyric.

Men’s ambition as displayed in lyrics in this category has less to do with material gain than with status, particularly with regard to the milieu of tango. However, in the examples presented here, the man is usually being mocked for the manifestation of this ambition, whether as a poseur in the masculine realm of street violence or on the space of the dance floor. Moreover, the mocking is presented in the form of a comparison to womanly ambitions, as in lines 3-4 of “Garufa” (Romano 141-2): “Tenés más pretensiones que bataclana / que hubiera hecho suceso con un gotán [tango]” rendering him all the more ludicrous. In spite of the aim of this comparison to disparage the male, it nevertheless confirms that the woman alluded to, the *bataclana*, does indeed have ambitions within the realm and rankings of tango,

²³⁸ Lines 9-10 from “Tata, llévame pa’l centro.” This tango and “La mina del Ford” (Gobello *Letras* 80; Romano 72-73), are most clearly representative of these discourse prosodies, as they explicitly report in first person poetic voice a woman’s materialistic yearnings. However, they belong to Category C, *Cambalache*, and are therefore not directly a part of this chapter’s analysis.

²³⁹ *Papusa* was analyzed as a noun in this instance, while *ruflera* (a form of *runflero/a*) is a derogatory adjective describing a member of the *runfla*, or the masses (Conde *Diccionario* 285). It was necessary to transpose the grammatical categories for the translation.

²⁴⁰ *Papusa/reina*: LogDice = 10.36.

²⁴¹ *Bacana/humos*: LogDice = 11.59.

evidenced by the strong collocations of *bataclana* with *pretensiones* and *suceso*.²⁴² In “Bailarín compadrito,” on the other hand, the desired social position is directly associated with the male: “que un día llegarías a rey²⁴³ de cabaret” (line 6), the conditional tense of the verb *llegar* implying that this was an objective for the *compadrito* to attain. Furthermore, the *compadrito*, presented as a “reo de otros tiempos” (line 5), originated “en el viejo bailongo orillero / de Barracas al sur” (lines 11-12) and now, to establish his “famosa corrida [dance move]” (line 15), has migrated to the center of the city: “te viniste al Maipú”²⁴⁴ (line 16). In the opinion of the narrator, he has left his old, more authentic self and now dresses like a dandy (line 20: “hecho un bacán”) who has set up an *academia*, but nevertheless regrets the loss of his former life. In these examples it is evident that a male’s ambition is conflated with his social status, however attainment of that status is not respected by others either when it is couched in female terms or when it is perceived as deviating from “authentic” masculinity. As discussed in chapter one, section 1.1.3, this authenticity is defined primarily by adherence to the codes and defining characteristics of the *guapo*, as juxtaposed with the posturing of the *compadrito*. In “Bailarín compadrito,” the man has abandoned not only his *barrio*, but also his simple, authentic way of life, and therefore his success is caricatured in the song.

6.2.2 Goodness, Badness, and Irony in Category P

Inasmuch as tango lyrics highlight the manifestation of ambition for and by women as compared to that of men, likewise the discourse prosodies revealed by this study call attention to stereotypical presentations of men and women with regards to their moral traits, lifestyle, and behavior. This section will center on six related discourse prosodies: (B): *A/n X or Y is bad or displays immoral traits*, (G): *A/n X or Y is good or displays moral traits*, (QMB): *A/n X or Y displays certain negative or bad*

²⁴² *Bataclana/pretensiones*: LogDice = 12.00; *bataclana/suceso*: LogDice = 13.00.

²⁴³ *Rey/llegarías*: LogDice = 8.70.

²⁴⁴ In this instance Maipú refers to the cabaret Maipú Pigalle, famous for the high quality of its dancers (Benzecry Sabá *Quest* 74, 90).

mental or emotional qualities, (QMG): *A/n X or Y displays certain positive or good mental or emotional qualities*, (LB): *A/n X or Y has a negative or bad lifestyle or behavior*, (LG): *A/n X or Y has a positive or good lifestyle or behavior*. As stated in the previous chapter (section 5.1), men and women are represented fairly uniformly in Category P, therefore this analysis provides a balanced representation of the genders. Furthermore, consistent with the findings in chapter four, the AME values of either female or *lunfardo* terms in this category (*Personajes*) continue to demonstrate strong predictability for those terms to generate this group of discourse prosodies. In other words, any of the study terms that are either female, *lunfardo*, or both and which occur in Category P have been shown to be reliable generators of the six specific discourse prosodies being discussed in this section. Therefore, the methodology of this study provides statistical support for the conclusions drawn here. The tables for the aforementioned and all remaining prosodies are presented in Appendix 3.2, again for transparency as in chapter five, and the discussion that follows will continue to address the terms and their collocations.

The women in lyrics from this category tend to be defined primarily by their environment and associations, particularly with regards to whether their lifestyle might be deemed good or bad. Whom a woman associates with and her material wealth are chief determiners of her respective morality or immorality. In the case of moral traits, as seen by the collocation of *bacán* with *reina*²⁴⁵ in lines 7-9 of “La reina del tango,” a woman’s connection with her wealthy male protector along with her corresponding finery gratify her sense of self-worth and elevate her to a high status: “y tu pinta elegante y teatral / se muestra orgullosa junto a tu bacán. / Sos reina del tango.” Nevertheless, desirable personality traits also factor in to create positive representations of women. In “El rey del cabaret” (Romero “El rey”) the arrogant “rey sin corazón” (line 10) meets his nemesis in “una paica de gran entereza” (line 18). The confidence level for the collocation of *entereza* with *paica*²⁴⁶ is already high, but the

²⁴⁵ *Reina/bacán*: LogDice = 9.54.

²⁴⁶ *Paica/entereza*: LogDice = 10.57.

addition of the superlative adjective *gran* solidifies this relationship. In “Yo soy la rubia,” the female narrator declares her worth in the first line: “yo soy la rubia gentil”²⁴⁷ and goes on to proclaim her many fine qualities.²⁴⁸

A man’s moral traits are in part judged by his own material wealth, but more so by his reputation. He is often defined by other’s esteem of him as an individual, but also his own declaration of self-worth, generally presented as braggadocio, is instrumental in delineating his character. The lines (17-18) “Soy compadre entre compadres / y decente”²⁴⁹ entre la gente” from the tango “Calandria” provide a good example. “Compadre entre compadres” and “decente entre la gente” allude to how he is perceived by others, and that perception is augmented by the rhyme of *decente* with *gente*, while the first person declaration “Soy compadre” reveals how he views himself as a great man among his peers. Furthermore, as a common character in the lyrics, who by his very epithet (*compadre*, *compadrito*, *compadrón*, *taita*) might be considered immoral by societal norms of the time,²⁵⁰ this type of man is often esteemed: what society ostensibly regards as negative character traits are presented as positive attributes in these males, a type of moral *vesre* that appears to pervade tango lyrics. In “El taita” (Romano 26-8) the *taita*’s own description of himself and his behavior reinforces the definition of that title, *taita*, and his designation as a killer, or one who is feared and respected for his bellicose nature (Conde *Diccionario* 296), exemplified in lines 5-6: “Si me topan me defiando / con mi larga fariñela,” the knife (*fariñela*) being an obvious phallic symbol indicative of male posturing. But it is the collocations in lines 33-34, “Soy el taita más ladino, / fachinero [valient] y compadrito,” that accentuate the notion that this nefarious character is a person to be admired, astuteness and valor being estimable masculine traits, manifestations of the “culto de corage” (Borges *Obras* 165). In this case, *compadrito* collocates with both *fachinero* and *ladino* with a high level of confidence, and *taita* also demonstrates confident

²⁴⁷ *Rubia/gentil*: LogDice = 11.99.

²⁴⁸ See chapter one, section 1.1.3.

²⁴⁹ *Compadre/decente*: LogDice = 9.94.

²⁵⁰ See chapter one, section 1.1.3.

collocation with these two descriptors.²⁵¹ Although the narrator may be a character whose role in society is considered to be immoral by the elite, these collocations serve to create a discourse prosody that conveys the opposite characterization, that of a man worthy of respect.

On rare occasion, negative traits are also admired in a woman, but these tend to be indicative of an ironic representation of femininity. In “Traviesa,” the lyric goes so far as to use the male epithet *taita* in the female narrator’s self portrayal: “Soy la paica de san Telmo, / la más taita²⁵² y retrechera” (lines 1-2), and, indeed, the collocation of *traviesa* with *paica*²⁵³ supports the ironic depiction of the woman. She assumes a masculine title, in this case emphasizing *taita*’s secondary meaning of a man who masters an activity, an expert (Conde *Diccionario* 296), to elucidate her status as the best among a group of rival females (“mis amigas, las chismosas”; line 3). Like the male protagonists of lyrics such as “El Porteñito,” “El taita,” “Calandria,” and “Don Juan, el taita del barrio,” she identifies herself early in the lyric as reigning at the top of the tango hierarchy, but her use of a male term to do so underscores her nonconformity with societal norms for women. Another example is found in “Pipistrela” (Ochoa), in which the female narrator acknowledges through the pragmatic evidentiality of the verb *llamar* that she is recognized by this disparaging epithet, the *lunfardo* definition of *pipistrela* denoting someone who is vulgar, rustic, or crude (Conde *Diccionario* 261). Moreover, she defends this appellation, appropriating the term by stating that she allows herself to be called thus and further contradicting and mitigating its negative connotation by asserting that she is actually clever, as stated in lines 9-12: “Me llaman la Pipistrela²⁵⁴ / y yo me dejo llamar; / es mejor pasar por gila / si una es viva de verdá.” For males, it is sufficient to self-identify with a

²⁵¹ *Compadrito/fachinero*: LogDice = 11.99. *Compadrito/ladino*: LogDice = 9.91. *Taita/fachinero*: LogDice = 9.79. *Taita/ladino*: LogDice = 11.54.

²⁵² The collocation of *paica/taita* unfortunately falls outside of the search parameters for collocates. As presented in the methodology in chapter four, section 4.2.3, this range was -5 to 5 (words to left and to the right of the node, respectively). The LogDice score of 10.68 for this collocation is obtained in the range of -7 to 7, and is therefore not statistically valid in this study.

²⁵³ *Paica/traviesa*: LogDice = 10.61.

²⁵⁴ *Pipistrela/llamar*: LogDice = 9.22.

masculine title to profess masculinity; for females, it is necessary to justify this self-assertion with an ostensibly self-deprecating comparison to male characteristics. This will be elaborated on in the analysis of “Desde piba” later in the chapter.

Negative behaviors or lifestyle for a woman are predominantly depicted in terms of her role or position within her social environment: who she is with and how she acts within those groups. As stated, the collocation of *papusa* and its modifier *ruflera*²⁵⁵ in “La reina del tango” diminishes the woman’s status as the queen of tango due to her association with the lower classes. The women referred to in “El rey del cabaret” are portrayed as supplicants, eager to attract the attention of the “mozo bacán y arrogante” (line 1), “por el cual se trenzaban las minas / mendigando una frase de amor” (lines 3-4). In these verses, *minas* collocates with a high degree of confidence with *mendigando*,²⁵⁶ creating an association of those women with an extremely low role, that of beggars, in their environment. Expanding on the earlier discussion of “La reina del tango,” the *papusa ruflera* is described in subsequent verses (lines 11-12) as possessing the knowledge of “la ciencia canera de saber bailar.” Again, *papusa* collocates well with *canera*;²⁵⁷ Conde (*Diccionario* 85) defines *canera* in its most obvious sense as relating to *la cana* [prison, police], however Espíndola (102) adds that the term also relates to the domain of the *orillero* or *bajo fondo*, including its way of life and forms of expression, and both usages are supported by the *Diccionario de Americanismos* (ASALE). Thus, a *papusa*’s skill as a dancer is conflated with dancing, viewed as either a “ciencia canera” or as that of the slums, both environs pertaining to the lower classes who were the predominant consumers of tango in the time period encompassed by this study.

As differentiated from the case of the woman in tango, rather than emanating from the society he keeps, negative behaviors or lifestyle for a man are primarily generated in terms of his own personality and actions: what type of man he is and how

²⁵⁵ *Papusa/ruflera*: LogDice = 13.99.

²⁵⁶ *Mina/mendigando*: LogDice = 11.83

²⁵⁷ *Papusa/canera*: LogDice = 11.10.

he acts within the parameters of masculinity. Violence and criminality are well within the purview of masculinity in tango lyrics, as evidenced by such collocations as *guapo/cuchillero*²⁵⁸ in “Calandria” and *guapo/castaño*²⁵⁹ in “El porteño,” the first example evincing violence perpetuated by a *guapo* and the second depicting the *guapo* as a recipient of violence. With respect to criminality, although criminal action and consequent incarceration comprise anti-social behavior, viewed in this study as the discourse prosody representing a negative lifestyle, nevertheless they may be deemed acceptable among men of a certain social class within the world of tango. This is substantiated in lines 41-45 of “El taita”: “También he sido / un habitante / fiel y constante / de la prisión, / porque soy taita.” The descriptors *fiel* and *constante*, both admirable traits, are in juxtaposition with the *taita/prisión*²⁶⁰ collocation, resulting in the incongruity of the discourse prosody.

Consistent with the data findings that show *lunfardo* terms as having a greater tendency to create negative discourse prosodies,²⁶¹ the declarative “Era un malevo” (line 1) in “El taita del arrabal” points directly to the evil nature of the *taita*, *malevo* being defined as a belligerent thug who lived in the outskirts of Buenos Aires (Conde *Diccionario* 209) and which collocates well with the *taita*²⁶² of the title. In “Mala entraña” (Romano 111-12) there is an association of the male protagonist with other disreputable males, which is further reinforced by the collocation of the nouns themselves that represent these classifications, as seen in lines 1-2: “Te criaste entre malevos, / malandrines y matones.”²⁶³

However, the greatest fault for a man is not necessarily to have fallen into bad company, to have a bellicose personality, or even to be given to vice. In tango lyrics, for a male the greater transgression lies in his failure to live up to the ideals of an assertive masculinity: to be dependent upon a woman, to show irresponsibility as a

²⁵⁸ *Guapo/cuchillero*: LogDice = 10.54.

²⁵⁹ *Guapo/castaño*: LogDice = 10.54.

²⁶⁰ *Taita/prisión*: LogDice = 9.71.

²⁶¹ See chapter four, section 4.3.4, Table 34.

²⁶² *Malevo/taita*: LogDice = 9.07.

²⁶³ *Malevo/matón*: LogDice = 9.64.

paterfamilias, or to be revealed as a dupe or a fool, particularly in love. “La pucha que sos reo / y enemigo de yugarla [work]” the first two lines from “Haragán” (Romano 153-54) call attention to this failure of masculinity in a humorous rendition of a wife nagging her indolent husband. The collocation of *enemigo* with *reo*²⁶⁴ contributes to the negative discourse by exaggerating that to be a *reo* is not merely to avoid work but to go so far as to be an enemy of labor. This is a rare case in which a woman’s voice draws critical attention to actions of a man that may be viewed as directly oppositional to patriarchal and national ideals of domestic order and prosperity, in which the male is the primary provider for the family.²⁶⁵

“¿Por qué soy reo?” (Gobello *Letras* 162-63) successively rejects the emblematic masculine nemeses of tango in order to answer the titular question of how and why the self-styled *reo* ended up in his deplorable state, reinforcing negative associations as it does so. The first stanza (lines 1-8) declares: “Yo soy reo sin ambiente, / no caí por una mina / ni me sepultó en la ruina / el ser taura, o gigoló. / No fui guapo prepotente / de una fama comentada / que, una noche en la cortada, / un rival me destronó.”²⁶⁶ Here, *ruina* collocates with *taura*, which in turn collocates with *gigoló*,²⁶⁷ the latter by definition exemplifying a male’s dependency upon a woman; the placement of *gigoló* within this list of negative traits or situations confirms the stigma it confers upon traditional masculinity. Additionally, although *ruina* falls outside of the collocational range for *mina*,²⁶⁸ the rhyming of the two words reinforces the implication that a woman, or women in general, are stereotypically deemed to be responsible for a man’s downfall.

²⁶⁴ *Reo/enemigo*: LogDice = 13.99.

²⁶⁵ See chapter two, section 2.6.

²⁶⁶ The lyric goes on to enumerate other elements missing from his life and environment that are *not* contributing to his idleness and apathy, as found in lines 17-20: “En mi bulín mistongo / no hay cintas, ni moñitos / ni aquellos retratitos / que cita la canción,” the evidentiality presented in line 20 being an obvious reference and rebuttal to the lyrics of “Mi noche triste,” among others, however this is not germane to the current discussion.

²⁶⁷ *Taura/ruina*: LogDice = 10.61; *taura/gigoló*: LogDice = 13.99.

²⁶⁸ Collocational parameters: (-5, 5), or five words to the left of the node word (i.e. *mina*) and five to the right.

Finally, and perhaps even more reprehensible for a man than failing to fulfill the role of provider, is the humiliation a male experiences upon being found a fool. The two *lunfardo* terms in this research that define a gullible man are *gil* and *otario*. Occasionally, a lyric will express a muted contempt approaching sympathy for the fool, as noted in the comparison of a *bacán*'s former status as a fun-loving, poor youth to his current fallen state in "Pato" (Gobello *Letras* 148-49): "y quién te vio como te he visto yo / nota que sos un pobre otario"²⁶⁹ (lines 27-28). However, the tendency is to express overt scorn, deriding the victim's lack of sophistication, particularly if he additionally demonstrates the slightest ostentation. "Niño bien" is perhaps one of the best lyrics to give an example of this type of negative discourse, exemplified in lines 19-20: "te creés que sos un rana / y sos un pobre gil. / Niño bien, que naciste en el suburbio." The semantically opposite term *rana* collocates with *gil*, while *gil* becomes a descriptor for the *niño bien*²⁷⁰ who is, in fact, a young man from the working-class *suburbio* who is putting on the airs of a rich playboy. This lyric will be discussed further in the section on poseurs, but here we begin to see how *lunfardo* supports the irony that is used to create censorious discourse in the lyrics.

In summary, the methodology of this research reveals contrasts between representations of positive and negative discourse with regards to the two genders. *Lunfardo* and female terms create both positive and negative representations of women by their formation of discourse prosodies that primarily refer to women's physical environments and social associations. In other words, it is women's position within the societal group, whether as agent or object, that determines the discourse more so than her individuality. On the other hand, discourse prosodies about men are principally generated with reference to the man's individuality, either to his own personality and behaviors or to how he, individually, acts within the parameters of accepted masculinity within the milieu of tango. On the societal level for men, then, deviating from either the social role determined by hegemonic masculinity or the

²⁶⁹ *Otario/pobre*: LogDice = 9.09.

²⁷⁰ *Rana/gil*: LogDice = 11.19; *gil/niño*: LogDice = 9.61.

“culto de coraje” is viewed as disgraceful. Finally, while within what might be called the moral *vesre* that epitomizes tango masculinity, a man may be admired for his otherwise reprehensible qualities as a thug or killer, negative traits for women are only occasionally admired, and then only ironically.

Ironical portrayals of women and men in tango are achieved not only through satirical descriptions of their personalities, but also through their physical appearance and actions. Discourse prosodies (IR): *A/n X or Y is described ironically*, (V): *A/n X or Y's appearance or physical traits are significant*, and (POS): *A/n X or Y acts as other than real self to impress others; A person acts as a/n X or Y to impress others* each contribute to these depictions. Discourse prosody (IR) is not strongly represented in the corpus, having only a total of six instances,²⁷¹ nevertheless the terms in this category show strong AME values relative to this prosody, such as *piba* at 4.76% and *malevo* at 3.23% as compared to the benchmark of 4.76%, seen in Table 63 in Appendix 3.2.²⁷² As seen with the discourse prosodies concerning negative behaviors and lifestyle, a woman is described ironically with regard to her social position rather than her personality, whereas more often it is men's actions and personality traits are dealt with in an ironic manner. The eponymous narrator of “Pipistrela” declares in line 13: “Soy una piba con clase.”²⁷³ In spite of the boldness of her statement, the term *piba* is juvenile by definition, and either diminishes her status as a woman or ironically mocks it in self-deprecation, and her naïve declaration belies the assertion that she does, indeed have class: if one must declare such a thing, it is not likely to be true. Regardless of the irony of her declaration, it does comprise an indirect expression of the ambition²⁷⁴ that is later revealed in the final verses (lines 21-24): “Yo quisiera tener mucho vento / pa' comprarme o sombrero y zapato, / añaparme algún coso del centro

²⁷¹ The instances of this discourse prosody across the corpus are: one FL (in Category C), one FS (Category P), and four ML (Category P).

²⁷² Likewise, the AME values for the terms pertaining to discourse prosodies (V) and (POS) can be found in Appendix 3.2; all display good to strong predictabilities for these discourse prosodies.

²⁷³ *Piba/clase*: LogDice = 10.30.

²⁷⁴ Salas notes that this lyric justifies her ambition as it is born out of dire necessity: “Para dejar la miseria o para comer, cualquier engaño es válido” (243).

/ pa' dejar esta manga de patos..." [I'd like to have a lotta dough / to buy me a hat or shoes, / find me some guy downtown / to leave this bunch of tramps].

On the other hand, for the men it is their socially undesirable actions, their dubious lifestyles, or occasionally their questionable social ranking that are admired with irony. The ludic aspect of said irony was particularly developed in the early tangos that appeared in the *género chico*, as caricatures of the men who were represented in the plays.²⁷⁵ In the case of male activities, the collocation of *hazañas*, a term connoting heroism (RAE *DLE*), with *malevo*²⁷⁶ contradicts the socially imposed negativity of criminal actions normally associated with the *malevo*, seen in line 7 of "Farabute" (Casciani): "[...] tus hazañas de malevo," and renders such criminality admirable. The habits of a *gil*, *mishé*, or *reo* are juxtaposed with descriptors that mock these individuals by proclaiming them the best of their disreputable peers. The collocations of *gil/gurda* ("que sos un gil a la gurda" [you're an incredible idiot], line 2) and *mishé/mejor*²⁷⁷ ("¿No manyás que vos has sido / un mishé de lo mejor?" [Don't you get that you've been / a fantastic sugar daddy?] lines 23-24) in "Uno y uno" (Gobello *Letras* 166-67; Romano 170-71) serve to ridicule and criticize the man who has, in the narrator's view, not only been wasteful through his recklessly extravagant lifestyle, but has committed the more egregious error of allowing himself to fall victim to the *grelas* (line 21) who have seduced him into lavishing his money on them. By definition, a *mishé* is a man who pays generously for a woman's favors (Conde *Diccionario* 222), and the ironic implication here is that the man has been the ultimate fool in doing so. Likewise the protagonist of "El malevo" (Gobello *Letras* 141) is declared to be "el mejor reo"²⁷⁸ de la ciudad" (line 14), granting him the distinction of being chief among vagabonds, a distinction that might be perceived by the reader/listener as a dubious honor at best. Although the lyric "Garufa" appears to begin by proclaiming the protagonist to be the *más rana* of his *barrio* (line 1), the sarcasm quickly becomes

²⁷⁵ See chapter three, section 3.2.4.

²⁷⁶ *Malevo/hazaña*: LogDice = 12.68.

²⁷⁷ *Gil/gurda*: LogDice = 10.30; *mishé/mejor*: LogDice = 10.05.

²⁷⁸ *Reo/mejor*: LogDice = 11.30.

apparent in the comparison to womanly ambition, as discussed previously, and is reinforced by the self-proclamation of the final line (25), “Yo soy un rana fenomenal.” Undoubtedly, being a *rana* is a good quality, and *fenomenal* collocates with an exceedingly high confidence level here,²⁷⁹ intensifying the irony of this line and thereby of the entire lyric. As in “Pipistrela,” this boastful assertion negates all supposition that it is, in fact, true, as the gap between the narrator’s self-perception and the audience’s perception sets up an inevitable framework of hubris, thereby augmenting the ironic posturing.

This type of posturing also manifests itself in the physical appearance of many protagonists of tango, which pertains to discourse prosody (V): *A/n X or Y’s appearance or physical traits are significant*. In general, women’s attributes are emphasized with respect to their bodies, positioning them as objects of the male gaze with descriptors such as *linda* and *papusa*, or with metaphors comparing them to objects such as flowers or the sun. Both *linda* and *flor*²⁸⁰ collocate well with *mina* in “Bailarín compadrito” in which the woman is objectified as the property of the male protagonist: “y dueño de una mina más linda que una flor” (line 2). Physical beauty is conflated with femininity, as will be seen in the discussion of “Desde piba” later. On the other hand, where physical aspect contributes to ironic posturing on the part of the woman, the characterization is voiced directly by the woman, presented as braggadocio. Immediately after declaring herself to be a “mina con clase,” Pipistrela calls attention to her appearance in line 14: “manyen qué linda mujer,”²⁸¹ followed by a cynical assessment of what her beauty can achieve for her in the next two verses: “¡La pinta que Dios me ha dado, / la tengo que hacer valer!” In this performative utterance she is assuming the societally imposed stereotype of her gender: that a woman’s value is conflated with her appearance. In “Yo soy la rubia” elegant appearance is expressed as the synecdoche of style when the female narrator declares

²⁷⁹ *Rana/fenomenal*: LogDice = 13.99.

²⁸⁰ *Mina/linda*: LogDice = 9.83; *mina/flor*: LogDice = 9.13.

²⁸¹ *Mujer/linda*: LogDice = 9.95.

“Tengo de la francesa todo su chic” (line 10), the confidence level for the collocation of *francesa* with *chic* being quite high at 11.42.²⁸² The narrator here uses a stereotype of French women, reflective of the perpetual Argentinian gaze toward Paris,²⁸³ to construct an image of her own femininity.

Rather than inherent characteristics, it is fashionable accoutrements, general clothing, and grooming habits that distinguish the physical appearance of men. Particularly with regards to tango, a certain look is associated with male stereotypes such as the *malevo* or *compadrito*; indeed, the *compadrito* dressed in soutache-trimmed jacket, pinstripe trousers, wearing a *funyi* or *chambergó* [slouch hat], and sporting a *lengue*, or neckerchief, with hair slicked back with pomade (Benzecry Sabá *Quest* 36), has become an icon for both tango and the city of Buenos Aires. This attire may be familiar today, but in the period in which tango was emerging this appearance deviated from the modes of dress seen among the upper classes and set the *compadrito* apart (Borges *El tango* 30-31). A man’s garments as much as his demeanor could immediately identify him as a member of the *bajo fondo*, or at the very least as an *orillero*. The opening verses of “Ventarrón,” “Por tu fama, por tu estampa / sos el malevo mentado del hampa” exemplify this integration of appearance with social position by means of the collocation of *malevo* with *estampa*²⁸⁴ in a performative utterance that declares his status within the male hierarchy of tango. Perhaps the most representative example is in the collocation of the title of “Bailarín compadrito” with its opening verses describing the protagonist: “*Vestido como dandy, peinao*²⁸⁵ *a la gomina*.” The subject of the lyric is being ridiculed for his posturing, his mistaken masquerade typifying a *compadrito*’s belief that emulating a *compadre*’s outward appearance will compensate for his lack of corresponding gravitas. The use of the diminutive form of *shusheta* (i.e. *shushetín*), in “Copen la banca” (Gobello *Letras* 126; Romano 109-10) similarly mocks this male affectation, especially in its collocation with

²⁸² *Francesita/chic*: LogDice = 11.42.

²⁸³ See chapter two, section 2.5.

²⁸⁴ *Malevo/estampa*: LogDice = 9.61.

²⁸⁵ *Bailarín/vestir*: LogDice = 9.91; *bailarín/dandy*: LogDice = 11.42; *compadrito/peinao*: LogDice = 9.05.

*muchacho*²⁸⁶ in the second verse: “pinta brava de muchacho con tu jetra shushetín.” Here, the protagonist is not even accorded the dignity of manhood; he is merely a boy who is putting on airs, and the effect of the diminutive in combination with the *vesre* of *traje*, *jetra*, is to humiliate him and chastise him for his posturing.

The final discourse prosody to be examined here is (POS): *A/n X or Y acts as other than real self to impress others; A person acts as a/n X or Y to impress others*. There is only one female example in Category P and that is found in “Desde piba,” which will be discussed in the final section of this chapter. That men are more readily depicted as poseurs may be due to the narratives focusing on outward appearances, evinced by discourse prosody (V): *A/n X or Y’s appearance or physical traits are significant*, discussed previously, and by descriptions of men’s activities, including prowess in dancing tango. Additionally, just as male ambition was shown to be motivated by achieving high ranking in the social hierarchies, as examined previously in this section, the quest for that status generates an inflated image of the self, which manifests in male posturing and exaggeration. Of the male *lunfardo* terms creating this discourse prosody (POS) in Category P, *taita* is the strongest predictor (based on AME values as shown in Table 65, Appendix 3.2), followed by *compadrito*, *compadre* and *bacán*. Indeed, in true Villoldian style (first person narration), the *taita* in “Matasano” (Gobello *Letras* 36-37) proclaims his own worth: “tengo clase y pedigré.”²⁸⁷ / Entre taitas soy manyao” (lines 34-35); he has an established ranking amongst his peers that is evidenced by his own testimony. As with the *rana fenomenal*, the fact that the narrator does not appear to perceive the comical aspect of his own posturing renders it ironic.

The eponymous dancer in “Bailarín compadrito” is accused of putting on airs, of having become dandified in the central environs of the cabaret where he has established himself as *rey*. The evidence for this lies in the collocation of *compadrito* with the verb *florear*, meaning “exhibir; lucirse, ostentar elegancia, habilidad o

²⁸⁶ *Muchacho/shushetín*: LogDice = 8.89.

²⁸⁷ *Taita/clase*: LogDice = 9.54; *taita/pedigré*: LogDice = 9.79.

talento" (Conde *Diccionario* 160) in lines 9-10: "Bailarín compadrito, / que floriaste tu corte primero" (lines 9-10) and again in the collocation of the titular *compadrito* with *dandy*²⁸⁸ in the opening verse. Furthermore, exhibitionism is conflated with tango specifically by the rhetorical device of repetition, in that the *compadrito* is identified as a *bailarín* in three collocations, this combination having an extraordinarily high LogDice score of 13.41. Perhaps the most conspicuous representation of a *compadrito* as poseur is "compadrito de papel maché"²⁸⁹ (line 35) in the tango "Compadrón" (Cadícamo "Compadrón"); the flimsiness of the *papel maché* and its traditional use in the making of puppets provide an apt metaphor for his false position.

"Compadrón" additionally provides further evidence of the male poseur, via multiple collocations in the verse "compadre sin escuela, retazo de bacán"²⁹⁰ (line 17). A *compadre* has a higher status than a *compadrito*, yet to say that he is "sin escuela" is to imply that he is without street credibility, lacking in the necessary audacity that will grant him standing amongst his peers. To dub him only a *retazo* of a *bacán* maligns his failed attempt at achieving a higher status and emphasizes its insignificance. The metaphor implies that he is delusional in his posturing; he thinks he has become a *bacán*, however the narrator brutally crushes him with extreme sarcasm.

With regards to standard Spanish, the epitome of the male poseur is found in the lyric "Niño bien." A *niño bien* was an upper-class youth who sought entertainment in the rough nightlife of the suburbs. The lyric, however, does not describe one of these privileged males, but rather a young man from the suburbs who is attempting to appear as if he was born into the upper classes. While there are only two collocations in this lyric that were identified as specifically creating this discourse prosody, the overarching theme of the entire song is the young man's pretentiousness. The first of those collocations is found in lines 15-16, in which he is accused of believing himself

²⁸⁸ *Compadrito/floriaste*: LogDice = 9.05; *compadrito/dandy*: LogDice = 9.05.

²⁸⁹ *Compadrito/papel maché*: LogDice = 9.05.

²⁹⁰ *Compadre/escuela*: LogDice = 9.00; *compadre/retazo*: LogDice = 10.05; *bacán/retazo*: LogDice = 12.19.

better than he is because “[...] allá en el Chantecler²⁹¹ / la vas de bailarín.”²⁹² In this case, *vas* is interpreted to mean more than merely going to the cabaret, but, due to the prepositional phrase *de bailarín*, is taken as a performative act that transforms the young man into something he is not: a wealthy tango dancer. More compelling is the second collocation, *figurar*²⁹³ with *niño bien*, in the second verse: “[...] tenés berretín [obsession] de figurar.” The DLE gives the definition of *figurar* as “imitar algo dentro de una ficción determinada” (RAE DLE), which could not be clearer. Furthermore, a *berretín* is an obsession, a mania for something (Conde *Diccionario* 62); the youth is being ridiculed not only for his artificiality but also for the unrealistic nature of his objective. The majority of the lyric itemizes his affected behavior in an extremely humorous manner, however the final stanza reveals that he was born in the *suburbio* and is of very humble origins, and chides him for seeming to have forgotten that in his ambition. Being a poseur is laughable, until it becomes a cover for self-betrayal, when it is then a betrayal of *porteño* codes of masculine honor of the period and becomes “a complex act where individual emotions are confronted with cultural and public moral expectations” (Archetti *Masculinities* 155); such a betrayal of personal and societal ideals is therefore viewed as reprehensible. The following sections will examine in greater depth two lyrics, one depicting a male and the other a female, both of whom have abandoned their social milieu and individual principles to become something they were not.

²⁹¹ The Chantecler was a well-known cabaret (Benzecry Sabá *Quest* 77, 125).

²⁹² *Bailarín/vas*: LogDice = 12.41.

²⁹³ *Niño/figurar*: LogDice = 10.68.

6.3 “Primer agua”

I will now turn to a close reading of the tango “Primer agua,” to further demonstrate how the statistical findings of this research may be used to drive literary and linguistic analyses of tango lyrics. “Primer agua” was written in 1928 by María Luisa Carnelli under the pseudonym of Mario Castro and recorded by vocalist Félix Gutiérrez (Cabrera). As a journalist and a writer, she traveled to twenty-four countries, living in exile in Mexico for a time due to her communist politics, and was a correspondent during the Spanish Civil War in support of the Republicans (Cabrera; Dalbosco “Prestame” 181). As a woman writing tango lyrics interspersed with masculine vocabulary (*lunfardo*) at a time when such behavior (i.e. writing lyrics and using *lunfardo*) would have been frowned upon, Carnelli further justified her use of pseudonyms: “Yo fui una muchacha de familia burguesa con ambiciones literarias a quien le resultaba realmente incongruente escribir tangos lunfardos. Mi padre jamás supo que yo los escribía.” (qtd. in Pinsón “María”). The lyric is replete with *lunfardo*, a deliberate choice and general practice of Carnelli’s, as she explained: “Como en aquel momento casi todos los tangos llevaban letras lunfardas y yo ya conocía ese lenguaje por mis hermanos y el ambiente periodístico que frecuentaba, tenía que usarlo” (del Priore Loc. 3018; qtd. in Pinsón “María”). Her leftist political views were in opposition to her bourgeois origins (Cabrera), and this ideology is reflected in the proliferation of *lunfardo* in many of her lyrics, as affirmed by Dalbosco, who states: “el uso del lunfardo en la pluma de la escritora se aleja de los ideales burgueses de decoro y refinamiento esperados de las mujeres en ese entonces y se camufla con el lenguaje masculino” (“Prestame” 183). In her lyrics, Carnelli appropriates the language of men (*lunfardo*) to ridicule masculine hubris by using words such as *rante* [lazy person] that are derogatory rather than more favorable terms, such as *taura*.

The lyric tells the story of a young man who has left the poverty and misery of the *suburbio* to attempt to make his way in the city center. Upon his arrival, still impoverished, he channels his anger and frustration into becoming a pimp and a thief renowned for his temper and tendency to fight. He has become a *bacán* and a king of

tango, and to this the narrator credits his having been a *porteño*, through and through. As in several of Carnelli's lyrics, this text does not follow the traditional octosyllabic meter of the *romance*: the lines are principally composed of seven, nine, or eleven syllables, the rhyme is consonant, but neither meter nor rhyme follow any clear pattern. Carnelli typically set lyrics to previously composed music, which may account for this tendency,²⁹⁴ or it may simply have been the author's stylistic choice (Pinsón "María").

Taking the study terms *mozo*, *rey*, and *bacán* appearing in this lyric as a point of departure, their AME values are given here in Table 54. As in the corresponding table in chapter five,²⁹⁵ the first column lists the terms whose collocates were found to create discourse prosodies, in their approximate order within the lyric, the second column shows the corresponding prosodies, the third the general AME value of each term for contributing to any discourse prosody, the fourth the AME value specific to the discourse prosody for the term in this particular lyric, and finally the fifth column lists the benchmark AME value for *piba* in the corresponding discourse prosody.

²⁹⁴ Indeed, in spite of having the typical 2/4 time signature that characterizes tango music, the particular musical phrasing of this song may have influenced Carnelli's composition.

²⁹⁵ For "Se cortó la redoblona"; see chapter five, section 5.3.

Table 54 AME Values for Terms in "Primer agua" in Category P²⁹⁶

<i>Terms (in order of appearance in lyric)</i>	<i>Discourse prosodies formed with this term in this lyric</i>	<i>AME value of this term for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of this term, for this discourse prosody, in this lyric</i>	<i>Upper limit based on AME of piba for this discourse prosody</i>
<i>mozo</i>	QMB	12.15%	18.72%	33.25%
	QMG	12.15%	23.93%	42.51%
	LB	12.15%	44.57%	79.18%
<i>rey</i>	LB	12.83%	47.09%	79.18%
	B	12.83%	20.86%	35.07%
	T	12.83%	19.97%	33.58%
<i>bacán</i>	G	9.00%	17.67%	42.34%

From these figures, it can be seen that while none of the terms can be considered optimal predictors for the discourse prosodies identified, nevertheless they each present strong tendencies toward creating their associated prosodies. It is somewhat unusual that *mozo* and *rey*, both standard Spanish terms, are the nearest to the benchmarks set for prosody (LB): *A/n X or Y has a negative or bad lifestyle or behavior*, but upon keeping in mind that both words for males and terms in standard Spanish predominate in the corpus, it is not surprising that on occasion non-*lunfardo* terms might take precedence over *lunfardo*. These two terms are also reasonable predictors of discourse prosodies (QMB): *A/n X or Y displays certain negative or bad mental or emotional qualities* for *mozo* and (B): *A/n X or Y is bad or displays immoral traits* for *rey* in this tango, giving an indication of the underlying message of the lyric, which will be shown presently. Consistent with the findings that male terms tend to create more positive discourse prosodies, *mozo* also predicts (QMG): *A/n X or Y displays certain positive or good mental or emotional qualities*. Contradicting the tendency of *lunfardo* terms to create negative prosodies, *bacán* predicts (G): *A/n X or Y is good or displays moral traits*; as with the two terms mentioned in chapter five,²⁹⁷ I

²⁹⁶ As a reminder, the general benchmark limit of 21.58% is set by the term *piba*.

²⁹⁷ This refers to the discussion on *grela* and *garabita*; See section 5.3.

maintain that in spite of an apparently lower value, *bacán*'s AME value for this discourse prosody is still statistically meaningful with regards to the formation of positive discourse prosodies with a *lunfardo* term due to the fact that this value is nearly half way to the benchmark set by *piba*. Finally, *rey* presents a similar AME value for (T): *A/n X or Y participates in tango and its lifestyle*, the term in conjunction with this discourse indicating a hierarchy within the world of tango and among men. Again, the formation of the discourse prosodies is shown to have been due to the statistically significant effects of the terms identified in this lyric.

The title of this tango, "Primer agua" is immediately striking. The metaphor, a reference to a diamond of the first water, indicating a diamond of the purest quality, implies that something or someone valuable is to be the subject of the lyric. Nevertheless, as the lyric progresses, it becomes clear that the metaphor is ambiguous, simultaneously laudatory and sarcastically critical of the image of the man it portrays. By the resolution of the song, the reader/listener has been shown the youth's transformation manifested as a consequence of highly reprehensible behaviors comprising negative expressions of masculinity. Although there is an underlying tone of admiration (chiefly as these behaviors represent the young man's ability to persevere against adversity), Carnelli attacks this form of masculinity by means of the ironic way in which she describes that transformation. The masterful use of *lunfardo* to create a caustic tone supports the nuanced sarcasm that develops the lyric's pluralistic theme, as will now be presented.

The narrative begins simply enough with the youth leaving his *arrabal* one day, but by the second verse we are aware that this will be a challenging journey constrained by the veritable adversity of an ostensibly ideal life in the suburbs, and, indeed, the entire first stanza serves to refute the myth that life was easy in the *arrabal* as well as to establish the young man's motivation for leaving, illustrating both his desperation and his resolve. The word *asfalto* is a synecdoche in which the asphalt, a hard, unyielding surface, represents the modernization of the city center in contrast to the unpaved dirt of the undeveloped (and thereby inferior) suburb, and it

epitomizes the callousness of the city environment. In her article on the archetype of *Milonguita* in tango, Dalbosco emphasizes that the *barrio* represents a space of purity, innocence and ascension, whereas the city center embodies immorality, corruption, and descent (Dalbosco “La construcción” 35-36), however this representation is normally reserved for lyrics about women; in “Primer agua” Carnelli has appropriated this theme and placed a man in these spaces. Furthermore, the choice of the verb *enderezar* belies those stereotypical renditions of *arrabal* and *centro*. *Dirigir* is only the sixth definition of this verb given by the DLE, and when taken with the first: to straighten something that is twisted, the third: to remit, to dedicate, and the fifth: to amend, correct, to punish (RAE DLE), this wordplay then implies that all was not right in the allegedly innocent *arrabal*. Moreover, it signals the man’s resolve to extract himself from an undesirable place or circumstance in an attempt to improve his life.

That this attempt will be challenging is evidenced by the *lunfardo* in the next verses (lines 3-4). *Cabuliar*, meaning “tejer intrigas, maquinar” (Conde *Diccionario* 77) is derived from the Spanish *cábala* [cabal], and is a metaphor for the fact that he must make intricate plans and scheme to survive; he will have to conjure a living, and the word choice also implies that these machinations may not always necessarily be orthodox or fruitful. *Marroquín* is a diminutive of *marroco*, a *lunfardo* word for bread (Conde *Diccionario* 215), and is here a synecdoche for money or sustenance. The juxtaposition of the two terms imply that upon his arrival in the city, he was hard-pressed merely to feed himself, the diminutive *marroquín* suggesting that the yield of his efforts was minimal and the verb *cabuliar* reinforcing that his efforts were, indeed, a struggle. In order to achieve this, however, he first must abandon his previous life, that of the *mistongo* [humble] *cafetín* (line 5). The verb *abandonar* implies a certain reluctance to leave that life, that in spite of its unhappiness he did not merely go away, as might be connoted by verbs such as *irse* or *partir*. The *cafetín* serves as a metaphor for the association with people, likely to have been his friends and family, from his neighborhood. The diminutive suffix *ín*, aside from rhyming with *marroquín*, connotes

an affection and closeness for this typically male environment (Salas 267).²⁹⁸ The café is *mistongo*, poor and humble, but it represents the social ties that he must cut if he is to achieve his ambition and flee his poverty.

The next two lines (6-7) confirm this flight and the now-severed ties with the community in the verb *rajarse*, “to escape, flee” suddenly” (ASALE, RAE DLE), and in the image of the *cusifai* [the nameless people of the neighborhood], reflecting on his departure. The impersonality imparted by the term *cusifai* implies that the connection has already been ruptured; yet the synecdoche *ay, ay, ay*, indicates compassion for the young man’s dilemma. It cannot be known if their sadness is merely for his departure, for the implied difficulties of his circumstances, or, what seems more likely based on his subsequent behavior, for their fears of the consequences of his action in leaving the *arrabal*. In addition to the people he leaves behind he also leaves his fear and repugnance of the hardships he faces. *Repeluz*, a graphic variety of *repelús*,²⁹⁹ is understood here as a personification of those feelings, and is depicted as crying, alone, in the empty, darkened room (lines 8-9). The personification serves to emphasize his lingering misery, but also to highlight that he has rejected his suffering, rejected his innocence, and chosen to leave those and any other weaknesses behind him. Additionally, and perhaps most significantly in this stanza, he is a *mozo* who is simultaneously *pierna*, capable, and *forfait*, indigent (line 10). *Mozo* shows reliable collocations with *pierna* and *forfait*,³⁰⁰ the juxtaposition of these opposite terms emphasizing the tragedy of the youth’s predicament: he is capable, worthy of

²⁹⁸ By definition, a *cafetín* was a space frequented by men of low socioeconomic status, but the term connotes affection as well as disparagement (Conde *Diccionario* 79). This is evidenced in Discépolo’s well-known tango “Cafetín de Buenos Aires” (Gobello *Letras* 260-61; Romano 376-77). In this lyric (which falls outside the parameters of this study and is not included in the corpus), Discépolo poetically describes the *cafetín* as a place where men share their confidences and troubles as well as find refuge from these (Salas 266-271).

²⁹⁹ Todotango.com gives the definition of *repelús* or *repelús* as “escamoteo o robo de dinero u objetos, realizado con mucha ligereza,” (García Blaya et al.); and the *Diccionario de Americanismos* lists it as an Argentinian popular slang for “rápidamente, en un instante” (ASALE), however the standard definition of “temor indefinido o repugnancia que inspira algo” (RAE DLE) seems the most suitable in this case.

³⁰⁰ *Mozo/pierna*: LogDice = 11.83; *mozo/forfait*: LogDice = 9.79.

admiration, and yet he is unable to thrive in his environment and is therefore driven from it.

His initial efforts to overcome his hardships following his removal to the city center are likewise frustrated, and he resorts to criminal activity to survive and eventually to succeed. He is still dodging poverty, the *lunfardo* verb *gambetear* (line 11), meaning to elude or avoid a difficult problem (Conde *Diccionario* 168), being a metaphor derived from the Spanish *gambeta*,³⁰¹ which in *lunfardo* signifies an action in which the body is wrenched or twisted in order to avoid a blow or a fall (168). In his attempt to metaphorically land on his feet, the youth resorts to deceitful practices: he becomes an *engrupidor* [imposter] (line 12). However, the lyric does not merely describe the act of becoming, instead Carnelli employs a subtle wordplay in these two verses: “Pa gambetearle a la mishiadura / entró a trabajarla de engrupidor” (lines 11-12). *Entrar* can be interpreted here as to enter into a profession (RAE *DLE*), and the direct object pronoun *la* affixed to *trabajar* ostensibly refers to the *mishiadura*, or poverty. He therefore attempts to outmaneuver poverty by deceiving it, yet this feminine pronoun also alludes to the source of his newfound wealth: he sets himself up as a pimp who works the prostitutes that support him. From the *mozo pierna* who might have been admired for his tenacity he descends into a life of thuggery, thus beginning a criticism both of violent masculinity and the social conditions that created it.

The following two verses (lines 13-14) enumerate the specific steps he took: “a un mixto le dio en la matadura / y de prepo al hembraje conquistó” [“he hit some poor slob below the belt / and hammered all the hookers into shape”]. *Dar en la matadura* is equivalent to the English phrase “hitting below the belt,” and to say that his victim was a *mixto*, a variety of the term *misho* (Zilio 258), or indigent (Conde *Diccionario* 222), stresses that this act is dishonorable. Additionally, it relates phonically and semantically to *mishiadura* seen previously, creating a situation in which the

³⁰¹ In ballet, a caper or cabriole: A jump in which one leg is extended into the air forwards or backwards, the other is brought up to meet it, and the dancer lands on the second foot (*OED*).

protagonist hypocritically and egotistically abuses another's misery in order to alleviate his own. In the majority of lyrics of this type, *prepotencia* (dominance/arrogance in standard Spanish; violent attitude in *lunfardo* (RAE DLE; Conde *Diccionario* 268) is a much-admired masculine trait: the braggadocio of the *guapo* or *taita* is accepted as evidence of manliness. As presented in this text, such actions are reprehensible, evidence of the young man's depravity that is both ironically lauded as it is being condemned. While the verb *conquistar* does include the definition of "Lograr el amor de alguien," it principally denotes the violent subjugation of another (RAE DLE), and in conjunction with the *lunfardo* expression *de prepo*, or *violentemente* (Conde *Diccionario* 268), confirms that he has employed physical violence upon women in order to set himself up as a pimp. It is also plausible that the *mixto* from the previous line was another pimp whom the *mozo* beat and robbed of his *hembraje*, the synecdoche indicating a group of prostitutes, taking over his street business.

Following this itemization of the process of the youth's transformation, lines 15-18 describe his apparent triumph with consummate sarcasm: "Hoy es un primer agua, rante a la gurda, / con fama bien sentada de fajador; / pela la fariñera en la zurda / cuando juna, broncando, una traición." [Today he's a diamond of the first water, / an exceptional loser / with a hard rep as a fighter / he flashes a blade in his left hand / when he sees a double-cross that pisses him off]. The lyric returns to the metaphor of the title, *primer agua*, contrasting this with the derogatory *rante*, which is in turn modified by the exaggeration *a la gurda*, an idiomatic expression meaning exceptional (Conde *Diccionario* 179). While there remains an underlying tone of admiration, the sarcasm imparts a criticism of both the means of the youth's success and the very nature of that achievement. The character of the *mozo* before arriving in the city was never revealed with certainty in the beginning, nevertheless the implication is that there has been a drastic change, an adaptation to the norms of masculine behavior in their most aggressive forms. The youth now has earned the reputation of a *fajador*, a fighter or troublemaker (Conde *Diccionario* 152)—quick to

draw his knife at any real or perceived threat. The absurdity of this posturing is highlighted by the use of the verb *pelar*, to peel, both a metaphor for the action of unsheathing the weapon and a paronomasia of the phallic posturing of exposing one's penis. The portrayal of the youth is almost ludicrous, he appears to be vigilant for any betrayal to the point of paranoia, defending his success at all costs.

Using the rhetorical device of repetition, the lyric brings the narrative full circle back to the day the youth chose to leave his neighborhood, repeating in lines 19-20 the verses "Del arrabal un día salió / y al asfalto del centro enderezó." It then reiterates and vindicates his rationale, the polysemy of the verb *rechiflarse* aiding in justifying his decision: *rechiflarse* has three definitions (to go mad or become unhinged, to become angry, and to leave unexpectedly) (Conde *Diccionario* 279)), all of which apply to the man's presumed state of mind. Line 22 evidences an acknowledgment of both the propriety of that state of mind, a response to the hardships imposed on the youth by the prevailing class structure, and of the resolve that compelled him to leave to seek a better life. There is a constant vacillation between approbation and criticism, however, as seen in the following verse (line 23), which calls into question the purity of his motivation given the outcomes. He is *estufó*, the past participle of *estufar*, a *lunfardo* verb meaning *molestar*, *incomodar*, *fastidiar*, *aburrir* (Conde *Diccionario* 150), all somewhat peevish emotions that are induced by the lack of money. The *vesre* of the term for money, *tovén*, appears here, and although the word choice may be due merely to the expediency of rhyming with *bien* in the previous line, nevertheless the reversal of the word appears to coincide with the incongruity of his motives: he is right to be angry at the inequity imposed by his class status, yet his solution is not to seek social justice, but rather personal gain.

The outcomes of the youth's literal and metaphorical journey are clear: he has achieved relative success, but the nature of his newly acquired reputation is questioned in the irony of the final lines. He has achieved the status of *rey*, the king of tango, yet this status is conflated with his criminal activities as an *achacador*, or

criminal. *Rey* collocates well with both *achacador* and *gotán*,³⁰² implying a relationship between the latter two, and the *vesre* of tango also appears to hint at this dichotomy. The *primer agua* of the title reappears in collocation with *bacán*,³⁰³ seeming to imply admiration and approbation, but in this case other nuances of *bacán* may come into play: while in tango this term often signifies a wealthy man, it can also be used to indicate either a pimp or an individual who feigns an elevated social position (Conde *Diccionario* 53). Both of these definitions are consistent with the actions described in the second stanza and with the youth's origins presented in the first. Concurrently, all four descriptors, *achacador*, *rey del gotán*, *primer agua*, and *bacán* summarize masculinity in the milieu of tango. As stated earlier in the chapter, (section 6.2.2), this is what it means to have achieved dominance in the hierarchy of tango for a male: he is revered partially on the basis of acquired material wealth, but predominantly by his notoriety amongst his peers. What this lyric does, however, is to turn that admiration on end, to question its validity by means of ironic representation. As stated previously,³⁰⁴ the masculine terms *mozo* and *rey* tend to predict negative discourse prosodies in this text, whereas *bacán* predicts a positive prosody; these tendencies are in contrast to the findings of this study that concludes that male standard Spanish terms predominantly create a positive affect while *lunfardo* terms, gender notwithstanding, lend themselves to forming a negative affect. Nevertheless, it is precisely the methodology of this research that reveals this apparent anomaly, leading to the interpretation of its ironic function in Carnelli's lyric.

To continue, lines 26-27 declare “Y ¡por algo ligó / la flor en el debut!” [And, it's not for nothing he got / the best, right from the first!]. *Por algo* refers back to the *mozo pierna* from line 10, suggesting that the young man had the necessary aptitude even before he left the *suburbio*, and that his proclivity for degeneracy was driven by his need to *cabuliar el marroquín*, regardless of whether or not he began as an

³⁰² *Rey/achacador*: LogDice = 10.61; *rey/gotán*: LogDice = 9.87.

³⁰³ *Bacán/primer*: LogDice = 9.25.

³⁰⁴ See Table 54, this chapter.

innocent. This capacity allowed him to quickly obtain (*ligar*) material success, represented by the metaphorical *flor*, the best (RAE DLE), in the early stages of his transition to his current status. However, it must be remembered that his desperation (being *forfait*) motivated his striving, and that consequently his satirically represented status was achieved through violent behavior. The final verse implies that these traits and their corresponding behaviors were an intrinsic part of his character, and indeed are intrinsic to the character of any male from Buenos Aires: “¡Porteño hasta el caracú!” (line 28). There is a degree of pride in the perseverance, ingenuity, and bravado required to survive in such a harsh environment expressed in this line, but it also reflects a criticism of that environment and the extremes to which its inhabitants are driven, resulting in an extraordinarily ironic and double-edged compliment. Carnelli appears to be calling into question Argentinian male identity, or at least that of the *porteño*, in a way that both acknowledges the skill and determination required to achieve success, and yet presents that achievement in a dubious light, both on its merits and by the means used to attain this triumph. The man in “Primer agua” has achieved fame amongst his peers, he is *porteño* to the bone, yet the value of that title is viewed with cynicism, and the purity of his status, that of a *primer agua*, is challenged. In this lyric the typically female narrative involving the move of the innocent girl from the sanctuary of the *suburbio* to the decadence of the city center has been applied to a male, reflecting on the consequences of hardship upon masculinity.

6.4 “Desde piba”

Written in 1930 by Francisco Alemán for music composed by Juan Bautista Guido and recorded that same year by vocalist Rosita Quiroga (Alemán), “Desde piba” presents a view of women for the time that is as correspondingly unconventional as “Primer agua” does of men.³⁰⁵ No information is known about the author of the lyric, Francisco Alemán, other than the name,³⁰⁶ however his lyric seems to have been particularly appropriate for the popular vocalist Quiroga.³⁰⁷ Filled with *lunfardo* terms and expressions, “Desde piba” was well-suited to Quiroga, as *lunfardo* was a part of her sociolect and idiolect, and her signature vocalization consisted of a half-spoken, ironic, mocking style (Gobello *Breve historia* 78; Salas 235).³⁰⁸ Quiroga was from the *suburbio* of La Boca, and as Dos Santos remarks: “Su arrabalero decir tenía la marca de autenticidad en el orillo” (Dos Santos 38), contributing to her immense popularity in the early decades of the *tango-canción*. “Desde piba” tells the story of an *arrabalera* that would have been close to Quiroga’s own heart.

As the title would suggest, “Desde piba” begins with an examination of a young woman’s past. In contrast to the stereotypically innocent protagonist of the *suburbio* found in the vast majority of tango lyrics, however, this *piba* had a decidedly incendiary personality, primarily as an agitator and activist for workers’ rights in the factory where she labored. She appears to have been a leader who fought for social justice, but the lyric goes on to say that at one point she snared a rich man who subsequently set her up as his mistress in a fancy establishment in the center of the

³⁰⁵ See chapter one, section 1.1.3 and chapter two, section 2.6 for discussions of conventional femininity in this milieu.

³⁰⁶ At this point, I have been unable to uncover further information regarding Alemán. In the future, with the amplification of the Tango Lyrics Corpus, forensic linguistics methods might be applied in an attempt to discover any links between this and other lyrics. Alternatively, this may be the only work generated by this lyricist.

³⁰⁷ Rosa Rodríguez Quiroga de Capiello (1896 – 1984). She was one of the most-recorded vocalists of her era (Dos Santos 37-38; Pinsón “Rosita”).

³⁰⁸ The most notable feature of her idiolect was her pronunciation of an affricate /s/ (Salas 235). Additionally, like all vocalists she often subtly changed the lyrics as she sang. In “Desde piba” she substitutes *mina* for *jermu*, for example, and vacillates between the standardized second person singular verb form (e.g. *ligaste*, *dormiste*) and a more colloquial variation (e.g. *mostrastes*, *tuvistes*).

city. After living for a time in a life of luxury, one day she returns to the *suburbio* to visit and assist her aging parents, and she is drawn back to the life she had abandoned. The *suburbio* calls her home, and she is once again a “¡piba, linda como el sol!”³⁰⁹ This tango largely conforms to the structure of the *romance*, in that it has an octosyllabic meter and assonant rhyme, although there is no clear pattern in the rhyming scheme.

Two of the study search terms, *piba* and *mina*, were found to have created discourse prosodies in this lyric. *Piba* formed (V): *A/n X or Y's appearance or physical traits are significant* and (QMG): *A/n X or Y displays certain positive or good mental or emotional qualities* while *mina* created (POS): *A/n X or Y acts as other than real self to impress others; A person acts as a/n X or Y to impress others* and (G): *A/n X or Y is good or displays moral traits*. Both *piba* and *mina* formed (QMB): *A/n X or Y displays certain negative or bad mental or emotional qualities*. Illustrated in Table 55, *piba* sets the benchmark for the AME values of all terms, and is therefore the highest predictor of its associated discourse prosodies. *Mina* falls in second place behind the benchmark *piba*, and is accordingly also a high predictor for the prosodies identified in this lyric. The nature of the discourse prosodies created by these terms is consistent with the statistical findings, both in the overall results regarding gender and variety having an effect on the creation of discourse prosodies (both are female and both are *lunfardo*) and in the descriptive statistics that revealed that female and *lunfardo* terms tend to create more negative and neutral prosodies rather than positive. It is noteworthy, then, that *piba* is strongly associated with discourse prosody (QMG), which was in fact the most frequently observed discourse prosody linked to this term across the corpus.³¹⁰ It seems logical that its connotative association with youth, and therefore innocence, causes *piba* to deviate from the expectation and avoid creating negative

³⁰⁹ It should be noted that while “Desde piba” has been assigned to Category P as its primary category based on its characterization of the protagonist, it was also assigned secondarily to Category C, *Cambalache*, due to the underlying theme of the woman having compromised her ideals in exchange for economic security and the implied perception of her as a “bought,” i.e. fallen, woman.

³¹⁰ In terms of frequency, within the entire corpus with regard to *piba*, (QMG) was followed by (O): *A/n X or Y is from or belongs to a certain place*, (V): *A/n X or Y's appearance or physical traits are significant*, and (WSM): *A/n X seeks a male; A female seeks a/n Y*, all considered to be neutral.

discourse prosodies; therefore the appearance of (QMB) in this lyric might be considered the greater surprise. *Mina*, on the other hand, is consistent with the expected effects and tends to form more negative prosodies,³¹¹ including (QMB) found here. What is unusual is the presence of (POS): *A/n X or Y acts as other than real self to impress others; A person acts as a/n X or Y to impress others*, which is formed more frequently with male terms rather than female. The reasons for these few anomalies will become clear in the analysis that follows.

Table 55 AME Values for Terms in "Desde piba" in Category P

<i>Terms (in order of appearance in lyric)</i>	<i>Discourse prosodies formed with this term in this lyric</i>	<i>AME value of this term for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of this term, for this discourse prosody, in this lyric</i>	<i>Upper limit based on AME of piba for this discourse prosody</i>
<i>piba</i>	QMG	21.58%	42.51%	42.51%
	QMB	21.58%	33.25%	33.25%
	V	21.58%	48.17%	48.17%
<i>mina</i>	QMB	21.15%	32.59%	33.25%
	G	21.15%	41.50%	42.34%
	POS	21.15%	12.68%	12.94%

The lyric opens with the narrator's expression of evidentiality, *desde piba*, evoking his/her memories of the subject's past. In a typical tango narrative, the reader/listener might expect this to then lead to praise of her goodness, her beauty, her innocence, or her fidelity; instead the ensuing description presents an unexpectedly assertive and self-confident female depicted by decidedly masculine metaphors. That she is confident is evidenced in the collocation *piba/mostraste*³¹² in the first line and also in the descriptor *pura cancha* [having a great deal of skill and

³¹¹ Again with regards to the entire corpus, the top discourse prosodies created by *mina* were: (MOW): *A male has power over a/n X; A/n Y has power over a female*, (P1): *A/n X or Y is a possession or object*, (LB): *A/n X or Y has a negative or bad lifestyle or behavior*, and (QMB): *A/n X or Y displays certain negative or bad mental or emotional qualities*.

³¹² *Piba/mostraste*: LogDice = 11.14.

ability, acquired from experience] in the third line collocation of *mina* with *pura* and *cancha*.³¹³ However, this self-assurance is immediately contradicted by a thinly veiled criticism embedded in the *lunfardo vesre* term *jermu*, a reversal of *mujer*, in conjunction with the neologism *insosegada*.³¹⁴ She is an unsettled, restless woman, at variance with the ideal of feminine tranquility, and this opposition is reflected in the literal reversal of the word for woman, *jermu*. The narrator appears to admire her qualities, yet does so with false courtesy, similar to “Se cortó la redoblona” in chapter five. However, in contrast to the obvious criticism in that lyric, in “Desde piba” there is an ambivalent feeling of grudging admiration juxtaposed with implied censure of her aggressive behavior, conveyed by means of masculine imagery. Additionally, since she has shown herself to be an abnormally assertive female, her classification as a *mina pura cancha* is evidence of her posturing, of setting herself up as an expert (discourse prosody (POS)), which is behavior that usually falls within the purview of men in lyrics in this corpus. *Cancha* is a reference to sport, most specifically to football, and it is followed by another assertion that she has *más ley que un coronel*, indicating that she has an authoritarian personality, comparing her domineering behavior to that of a high-ranking, male military officer (Da Veiga “Otra consulta”).

The consequences of her boldness are seen in the next lines (5-8): “De la fábrica te echaron / por huelguista alborotada / y de aquel laboratorio / por tu clase de cuartel,” and reflected later in lines 17-20 that describe her establishment as the mistress of a wealthy old man. Her expulsion from the factory implies her motivation or the necessity to seek a life outside of the *suburbio*, one in which she relinquishes her autonomy in exchange for a comfortable life. The adjective *alborotada* further contributes to this implication, as this descriptor produces a paronomasia on the word’s standard definition of rowdy, unruly, disobedient (RAE *DLE*) and the

³¹³ *Mina/pura*: LogDice = 10.54; *mina/cancha*: LogDice = 9.17.

³¹⁴ *Sosegado/a* is an adjective meaning “quieto, pacífico naturalmente o por su genio” however *insosegada* appears to have been poetic license on the part of the author. It can be understood as having the opposite meaning of *sosegado/a*. *Insosegada* collocates well with both *mina* and *piba*: *mina/insosegada*: LogDice = 9.39; *piba/insosegada*: LogDice = 10.75.

Argentinian and Uruguayan definitions of an animal in heat or a sexually excited person (ASALE). On the one hand, the obvious discourse prosody revealed here is that she is an inherent troublemaker, that she is on the prowl and prepared for conflict, while on the other there is a more covert message that her belligerence is driven by insatiate desires, both considerations being evidence of negative personality attributes ((QMB): *A/n X or Y displays certain negative or bad mental or emotional qualities*). Furthermore, in spite of being a woman of integrity, one who strove to uphold workers' rights—another implication in these lines—she continues to be judged and criticized for her social class and corresponding behavior. *Cuartel* is an archaic term denoting “las casas de inquilinato o conventillos”³¹⁵ (Gobello *Nuevo diccionario* 73), presumably a metaphor derived from the standard definition of *cuartel* as army barracks and the crowded conditions therein.³¹⁶ Once again, this is a reference to a male space; her position and behavior within that space masculinizes her and may additionally constitute an implied reference to the *chinas*, or army camp followers, as well as an overt condemnation of her socioeconomic class and the reputedly uncontrollable behaviors associated with it.

Class is reiterated in the description of her conflicts with *la clase aburguesada* in lines 9-12. The *lides*, or fights she incurred with the bourgeoisie convey the obvious conclusion that she is not a member of that social class, and that regardless of her efforts she will never attain said social status, yet there is an implicature that this was never her goal; rather her motivation came from a desire to win, to gain the upper hand, as the metaphors involving card games imply. Although card playing has never been an exclusively male pastime, the gambling metaphors used in this lyric appear to be intended to represent a recognizable male activity. Their application to the female protagonist of the lyric serves to masculinize her, causing the anomaly of her

³¹⁵ See chapter two, section 2.5.

³¹⁶ However, this etymology has not been established at this point. Otilia Da Veiga, President of the Academia Porteña del Lunfardo, asserts that the reference in the lyric is to her behavior: “por hacerse la mandona como los milicos” (Da Veiga, “Otra consulta”). Either metaphor is acceptable for the stated purpose of deprecation.

successfully forthright behavior to stand out. She has always been the *carta brava* [the last resort solution to a problem] with her combative attitude, this epithet also marking her as a person with a strong character, difficult to knock down (Espíndola 110), further reinforced in line 12, “muy pesada de pelear,” alluding to boxing; all of these metaphorical activities fall under the male domain and are expressive of her overwhelming desire to win. The final four lines of this stanza complete the image, with a metaphor that converts her into the masculine figure of the knave (or jack) of a deck of cards: “y en el Monte³¹⁷ de la Vida / sota linda, afortunada” (lines 13-14). However, *sota* additionally carries the meaning of “mujer insolente y desvergonzada” and, in Argentina, “persona que finge no saber o no conocer” (RAE *DLE*), implying both her defiant attitude and the type of duplicity that might be required to succeed in cards or life. The adjective *linda* is the only reference to her femininity until the last verse of the song, and coupled with *afortunada* shows a degree of admiration for her skills. Finally, she is called *ligadora*, a wordplay involving both its definitions: lucky in cards and one who usually wins in a fight (Conde *Diccionario* 200); in any confrontation between an authority figure and herself (“cuando entraban a tayar,” line 16), she always won.

It is possible that the mention of her altercations with “la clase aburguesada” (line 10) may also have been more metaphorical, unlike the factory brawls, and represent actual contact with the *niños bien* who came slumming in the *suburbios* of the city. The persistent references to gambling would seem to imply this, particularly when considered together with lines 17 and 18 of the second stanza. In a sudden shift of *mise en scène*, the lyric describes how she ensnared an extremely wealthy older man: “Fue en un copo que ligaste / a ese viejo bacanazo.” The intertwined paronomasias in these lines lie in the noun *copo*, net, and the verb *ligar*. In standard Spanish *copo* is a noun meaning a fishing net (RAE *DLE*), however in *lunfardo* the first two definitions of the verb *copar* are “Afrontar, asumir el riesgo y la responsabilidad de una situación” and “Subyugar, dominar.” (Conde *Diccionario* 114). The first definition

³¹⁷ See glossary.

of *ligar* is “to tie” in standard Spanish (RAE *DLE*), the tenth (Argentinian usage) is “to win in a game of chance,” and in *lunfardo* it is “to obtain” (Conde *Diccionario* 200). Thus, the protagonist has taken a risk: she has dared to net, win, or secure and dominate, a wealthy man’s attention in order to extricate herself from a life of drudgery and conflict. Additionally, the derogatory suffix *azo* on *bacán* simultaneously evinces an exaggeration of the man’s wealth and scorn for his role as a dupe of her machinations. Preceding this noun with the adjective *viejo* further creates a caricature of the rich older man who is seduced by a younger woman who desires only his wealth.

In spite of this, however, following her inherently assertive move she then relinquishes her agency; she is objectified in her treatment as the direct object of the verb *poner* in the following line (19): “que te puso en pleno centro.” While *centro* represents a particular space, it is also a metaphor for having achieved a comparative success, supported by the modifier *pleno*, which augments the representation of the city center as the ultimate goal for achieving upward social mobility. The metonym *rococó* in line 20 describes her new home and further symbolizes her newfound prosperity; additionally, this term is found in the lyric “Margot” (“hoy usas ajuar de seda con rositas rococó,” line 16), and that lyric, composed nine years earlier by Celedonio Flores (Romano 34-5), is referenced in line 24 of “Desde Piba” as “la cálida Margot.” This allusion to the female protagonist of the prior tango is a direct reference to the *piba*’s establishment as a concubine. Margot was a *milonguita*, but beyond that activity the eponymous lyric implies that she initiated her own turn towards prostitution (“al vicio te largó,” line 11). It can be deduced that the adjective *cálida* is employed in its archaic sense of astute (RAE *DLE*)³¹⁸ as well as the more conventional sense of warm-hearted, a wordplay that further evidences her attributes.

Although she has been compared to Margot and has become a kept woman, she continues to demonstrate her acuity. The narrator explains that from the moment of her establishment, she makes an important decision: “desde entonces no quisiste /

³¹⁸There is evidence of such use in 1910 Uruguay (RAE “CORDE”).

ser la nami del mal paso / sino el mono con más vento / que la cálida Margot” (lines 21-24). The *mal paso* is a reference to the poem by Evaristo Carriego, “La costurerita que dio aquel mal paso” (Carriego 190), discussed in section 3.2.6 of chapter three. In this case the diminutive and affectionate *costurerita* is converted not only to a *mina*, which, as stated previously,³¹⁹ may connote a more lascivious female of the period, but it is also inverted to *nami*. This inversion echoes the previous *vesre* term *jermu* in the first stanza: she is a contrary woman in every sense, from her innocent, yet belligerent, youth in the *suburbio* to her ostensibly immoral submission to her *bacán*. Nevertheless, her determination to avoid becoming another fallen woman reflects her ambition to surmount the circumstances of her origins and her choice, an overt discourse in which she does attempt to maintain her agency. The narrator, however, then deprecates this by the use of the term *mono*, a *lunfardo* metaphor for a large man, generally a bodyguard, or merely an anonymous male (Conde *Diccionario* 223), that also references the more conventional definition of ape, an allusion to her earlier bellicose behavior. The effect is to de-feminize, even masculinize her, while concurrently dehumanizing her; it criticizes her misplaced ambition to acquire more money (*vento*) than the aforementioned Margot. The metaphor signifies transference of her social values, from her militant activism in the factory to her egoistical life in the city center.

The middle of the second stanza shifts the setting once more. She returns to the *suburbio* to visit and aid her impoverished parents. Again evoking two of Carriego’s poems, “Caperucita Roja se nos fue” and, particularly, “La vuelta de Caperucita,” the *piba* now becomes a complete inversion of the story of the prodigal son: she is the prodigal daughter who returns to the *barrio*, but not in penury and disgrace as in “La vuelta de Caperucita” or in the way most women in such cases are depicted in tango (Fraschini 100), but rather as the one who succors her parents. Here the *suburbio* itself becomes a character in the narrative, personified by the adjective *retobado*, meaning “rebellious, angry” (Conde *Diccionario* 281), undoubtedly an allusion to her own state

³¹⁹ See chapter one, section 1.1.2 and Glossary.

of mind when she was a young girl battling the factory boss. She returns, “a besar a tus viejitos / y llevarles que comer” (lines 27-8), their old age evoking both the past and the great length of time she has been away, while the diminutive form connotes affection. Although bringing them food may be a literal representation, it further serves as a metaphor for her filial affection and for her generosity in returning to share her wealth with her family. Her face is described as *regordeta* (line 29), in metaphorical contrast to her parents’ condition, and the ubiquitous metaphor of tears as *perlitas* (line 30) running down it shows that her remorse is worthy and implies approbation for her feelings. The coldness and the trembling they incur (lines 31-2) are a reflection of her realization that she betrayed her ideals and degraded herself; she is cognizant of her deviation from accepted femininity³²⁰ in both her present and past life.

The lyric now turns to memory, the *piba* recalling her *cuna*, a metaphor for her childhood origins, personified as *humilde y coquetona* (lines 33-34), equally poor and innocently flirtatious. Juxtaposed with this image are her memories of fighting against the factory foreman, represented by the highly pejorative *negro capataz* (line 36). The racism in the term *negro* is patent, its first entry in Conde’s *Diccionario* (230) denoting a dark-skinned person from the interior of Argentina, however the second entry is given as a member of the lower class; its use is clearly intended to insult the foreman. In standard Spanish a *capataz* is the equivalent of a factory foreman, but in *lunfardo* it is a “trusty,” a prisoner who is given privileges or responsibilities in exchange for good behavior. That connotation may not necessarily have relevance in this lyric; what is germane is the portrayal of the man as her former opponent and an oppressor of workers in the setting of the *fábrica mugrienta*, representing the hardship of factory life. She is returned in this memory to her unfeminine state by the description of her continued confrontations and by the denomination *machona* in line 38. In spite of the ostensible slur imparted by that term, there is a tone of respect in the next lines which

³²⁰ Again, see chapter one, section 1.1.3 and chapter two, section 2.6 for these definitions.

boast of her ability to beat anyone fair and square³²¹ in any fracas: “que vencía mano a mano / a cualquiera de un fastrás” (lines 39-40). A *fastrás* is a punch or slap (Conde *Diccionario* 155) and the onomatopoeic impact due to the *aguda* stress on the last syllable transmits the physicality of the blow; her clashes with authority were not merely vocal, as might be expected if this were a stereotypical representation of a woman, but rather tangibly violent. There is a masculine pride, similar to that ascribed to a brutal *guapo* or *taita*, but in this lyric it is attributed to a woman.

In the final half of the last stanza (lines 41-48), the *suburbio* of her homecoming asserts its role in inducing her to return to her origins and ideals. The *suburbio* is personified as a *chorro*, thief (Conde *Diccionario* 104), and a *scruchante*, a variation of *escruchante*, or a burglar (146), a recognition of its ignominy as a space rife with crime and the misery of the lower classes. A tool of the thieves’ trade is used in this personification: “con la sombra por ganzúa,” and there is an allusion to the absence of street illumination that was still pervasive in the outlying areas of the city: “y la luna por farol.” Other than the earlier reference to the *sala rococó*, the city center is not foregrounded as it is in “Primer agua” (“el asfalto del centro,” line 2) and it is the lack of modernity and the insecurity of the *suburbio* that stands out in contrast to the implied safety and luxury of the city. These verses appear to simultaneously accuse and exonerate her for her choices: the *suburbio* and the factory were so exhaustingly oppressive she was obliged first to fight and then to escape by any means, yet her status as a troublemaker seems to render her conversion to a kept woman inevitable, or at least justifiable. Nevertheless, there is a subtle hint that surrendering to temptation is tantamount to a betrayal of her innocence and integrity, as will be seen in the final line.

Continuing the personification, the *suburbio* looked for a way to disconcert her, and ultimately wooed her into returning. The interpretation becomes problematic

³²¹ The expression *mano a mano* is often mistranslated as hand to hand; however in Argentinian Spanish it signifies equal, tied (Espíndola 310), equivalent to the English “even-Steven” or “fair and square.”

here as there are disparities between what appears in the text and the vocalization,³²² the discrepancy lying in the difference between *spirante* and *spirarte*. The image of the sheet music found on todotango.com (Alemán) shows *spirante*, a noun, however in the only recorded version of the song Quiroga sings *spirarte*. Both are a variation of the verb *pirar* (also *espirar*), meaning “to leave, to go away, to drive someone crazy, to rebel, or to rob or take away” (Conde *Diccionario* 148, 262). The line “buscó el modo de spirante” (line 45) may constitute a play on the verb *pirar* and the noun *rante*, but that seems improbable. Irrespective of the translational difficulties caused by this uncertainty, and assuming the second definition of driving someone crazy, the personified *suburbio* sought to unbalance her emotional stability, and in contrast to her active ensnarement of her *bacán*, it succeeds in courting or seducing her (“te afiló,” line 46) just as any good *rante*, or *callejero*, might do in sweet-talking a woman into sexual or emotional submission. Similarly, if *spirante* [sic] is taken to mean “to rob, to take away from,” the *suburbio* has robbed her of her freedom, effectively stealing her back (like a thief: *chorro*, *scruchante*, line 42), from her acquired affluence. In the penultimate verse she sleeps in the arms of the *suburbio*, which refers back to the metaphor of the *cuna* at the beginning of the stanza. The verb *dormir* may or may not be a euphemism for *morir* in this case; regardless the image evokes either the peaceful sleep of death or, more likely, the peaceful innocence of childhood to which she has returned. In doing so, she once again becomes the “piba linda como el sol” (line 48). The collocations of *linda* and *sol*³²³ with *piba* form the discourse prosody (V): *A/n X or Y’s appearance or physical traits are significant, linda’s* remarkably high LogDice score of 13.00 being crucial to the denouement of the narrative. In contrast to the *machona*, to the belligerent, masculinized female from the opening, but especially in contrast to her avarice and materialism, by returning to her roots she has redeemed her ideals,

³²² Generally I have deferred to the written texts as authoritative, considering the changes made by vocalists to be anomalies, however in this case the written form *spirante* does not appear to make sense; the n could have easily been a typographical error when the lyric was transcribed for printing, however this cannot be substantiated.

³²³ *Piba/linda*: LogDice = 13.00; *piba/sol*: LogDice = 9.64.

her innocence, and become beautiful again. She has come full circle, as has the lyric, both the opening and final lines situating her in the humble space of her origins and explicitly identifying her as a *piba*. She is only able to become fully feminine once she has been restored to the environment that initially instilled her principles.

The dichotomy of the representation of the *piba* in masculine terms, a young woman playing a non-conformist role in society, in conjunction with the covert admiration for her skills, has created an unconventional portrayal of women. On the surface the lyric implies blame for her nonconformity, particularly in the denouement. But as it does so, it reveals that women could be and were important advocates for their place in society. She is criticized in this lyric not so much for her promiscuity, her deviation from the role of wife and mother as in other tangos, but rather for having given in to materialism and become a kept woman. When she returns to the *suburbio*, which is admittedly a thief, an imperfect caregiver, in the view of the narrator she once again becomes a woman—true to the ideals of femininity imposed upon her by society, her compliance implying redemption for her previously deviant behavior. Nevertheless, the lyric demonstrates that throughout her life she has exercised her autonomy in shaping her life.

6.5 Conclusion

As discussed in the previous chapter, the data driven methodology employed in this study has proven crucial in identifying discourse prosodies that might otherwise have gone unperceived or not have been given sufficient consideration (e.g. those pertaining to women's ambition or agency or to ironic representations of masculinity), as well as elucidating in a scientific, quantifiable manner those prosodies that may be more ubiquitous to tango lyrics (e.g. representations of negative lifestyles). The evaluation of lyrics specific to Category P (*Personajes*) has also been shown to be beneficial in the analysis of *lunfardo* and its relationship to gender, particularly as this category may represent more clearly delineated images of masculinity and femininity in tango than the other thematic categories. The close readings of the two lyrics, "Primer agua" and "Desde piba" have shown the dichotomy of representations of men

and women, respectively, in tango lyrics and revealed anomalous lyrics in which the constructs of one gender are used to define the other. In the conclusion of the thesis, the wider significance of these findings will be explored, reiterating the mechanisms by which the collocational relationships uncovered by the methodology of the study create gendered discourse prosodies in tango lyrics.

Chapter Seven. Conclusion

7.1 Synopsis and Research Questions

In this thesis I have created the first linguistic corpus of tango lyrics in order to facilitate the study of both the song lyrics and the Argentinian lexical variety known as *lunfardo*, particularly in the way this variety constructs gender. I have developed a taxonomy for categorizing the lyrics by primary themes and styles that goes beyond the traditional, chronological, and musical characterization of *guardia vieja*, *guardia nueva*, and *época de oro*, thereby focusing on the textual aspects of tango. I have discussed the historical background of both tango and *lunfardo* in order to contextualize these cultural artifacts within the River Plate milieu, revealing connections not previously emphasized in tango research. Furthermore, I have explored the evolution of tango lyrics through the multifaceted heritage of tango, including influences from early popular songs, *candombe*, *comparsa*, *payada*, *tango prostibulario*, *zarzuela*, *sainete*, and *el género chico*. Additionally, I have applied a corpus-based methodology to my analysis of the lyrics, thereby demonstrating how using mixed methodologies in an interdisciplinary approach to close readings of texts can contribute to enhanced understanding of a discourse and the language used to create it. By utilizing corpus-based methodology, I have been able to identify discourse prosodies and determine through collocations whether those prosodies generated negative, neutral, or positive affects pertaining to gender. A primary aim of this thesis was to examine how *lunfardo* cultural markers contribute to the construction of gendered discourse in tango lyrics, and this was demonstrated by the statistical analysis of the data. The data, and the statistics derived therefrom, revealed that, with regards to nouns denoting women and men, *lunfardo* (as opposed to standard Spanish) is, indeed, the main producer of gendered discourse and especially represents women in a negative light. Finally, I have undertaken close readings of lyrics from two of my thematic categories, *Amor y desamor* and *Personajes*, and shown how a data-driven approach promotes detailed interpretation of the lyrics and reveals facets of the discourse that might otherwise remain obscure.

In the first chapter of the thesis I discussed the theoretical and methodological approaches of this research. I defined cultural markers as social constructs particular to a given culture, and specifically identified the *lunfardo* terms denoting women and men that may be considered cultural markers peculiar to tango. These *lunfardo* cultural markers are the linguistic scaffolding upon which representations of masculinity and femininity are constructed in tango lyrics. Masculinity and femininity in this milieu are defined from a decidedly patriarchal viewpoint and presented within the historical and cultural context of the River Plate zone.

Femininity in tango is idealized in the wife, mother, innocent *piba*, and in the creole woman such as the protagonist of “La Morocha.” However, Borges’ “mujer de mala vida” (Borges *El tango* 41) is the predominant motif and is epitomized by the recalcitrant *pebeta* or the archetypical *milonguita*, who is the object of criticism in the lyrics for her attempts at “undoing gender” as manifested in her nonconforming gender practice.

The two principal masculine types in tango are the *guapo* and the *compadrito*, the former representing the “culto de coraje” (Borges *Obras* 165) and the latter the emotional, often ridiculous, poseur, such as the “Bailarín compadrito.” Nonconforming masculinity is typically exemplified by the *otario* or *gil*, a fool who has allowed himself to be defeated by the machinations of the ostensibly duplicitous female.

I proposed a corpus-based methodology to analyze the gender stereotypes in the lyrics and to determine how these might construct gendered discourse. By creating the first linguistic corpus of tango lyrics, comprising 285 lyrics, I have been able to scrutinize the corpus with greater efficiency and depth than might have otherwise been possible, thus increasing the possibility of detecting and confirming linguistic trends (Baker and Egbert 193). Corpus-based tools have allowed me to integrate quantitative and qualitative analyses in a way not often undertaken in literary analysis. The data generated by this approach and the significant results obtained from the statistics enable me to extrapolate findings beyond my dataset (Baker and Egbert 199-200), and to make generalizations regarding a corpus that might be comprised of all

extant tango lyrics, thus presenting a new model for further research in this area. By taking care to construct my corpus with metadata, such as lyricists' names or my innovative thematic taxonomy, I have set the stage for this research to be expanded.

The content of the corpus has been contextualized in the second chapter by an exploration of River Plate history relevant to the development of tango. I have illustrated how the influence of various social and ethnic groups has shaped the creation of tango in all its forms: music, dance, and lyrics. Afro-descendants, *gauchos*, *payadores*, immigrants, impoverished *orilleros*, wealthy city-dwellers, men, and women have all left their mark on the evolution of tango.

In particular, I have discussed how the massive influx of men to the region during the wave of immigration spanning the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries affected the roles of both men and women in River Plate society. Although among the elites females were held to be constructors of national identity insofar as they adhered to patriarchal norms of chastity, marriage, motherhood, and housewifery, women from the lower classes often found themselves in non-traditional roles with respect to hegemonic culture. Harsh economic conditions led these women to menial labor, to work in factories, to their exploitation in brothels, and to cohabitation rather than traditional marriage, setting them up for condemnation in the lyrics of tango.

Widespread, legalized prostitution played an important role in the formation of tango, as the spaces where this was practiced were simultaneously places where the genre evolved and are often the settings of many lyrics. Women found economic opportunity as *coperas* or *milongueras* and thus many rejected more socially sanctioned ways of earning money. Nevertheless, these non-traditional roles led to shifts in perceptions of femininity that are revealed in the discourse prosodies about women, and which have been identified in this research. Women's movement from the sanctity of the impoverished *barrio* and home to an economically advantaged position as *mantenidas* of wealthy men or self-sufficient *milonguitas* is indicative of their growing agency in a rapidly changing environment. In tango lyrics, the

predominantly male authors engaged in a backlash against these assertive women, associating them with the disruption of traditional norms in their portrayal of them as *milonguitas*, but in so doing inevitably highlighted shifts in masculinity as a result. The pugnacious *guapo/compadre* gave way to the abject *compadrito* when this subsequent tango male began to complain in the lyrics about his treatment at the hands of the defiant *milonguita*.

I have illustrated that while a definitive origin of tango and its lyrics may never be known, multiple elements integrated to create this distinctive genre. Building on prior research on these topics, in chapter three I have presented research on how the African *candombe* metamorphosed into the ludic *comparsa*, and how the creole *payada* converged with these to evolve into the lyrics of the so-called proto-tango, culminating with the *tango canción* as it is known today. I have traced links in form (e.g. call and response, octosyllabic meter) and themes surrounding love from early popular songs of the region and shown how they are related to tango. I have associated the evolution from rural-themed to urban-themed *payadas* with the incorporation of *lunfardo* in those verses, which then carried over into the proto-tango, *tango prostibulario*, and *tango canción*. Furthermore, in examining Lehmann-Nitsche's indispensable work on the *textos eróticos* of the turn of the twentieth century I established direct links between lyrics belonging to proto-tango, *tango prostibulario*, and tango proper. As the emergent forms of tango found their way from the *barrios* of Buenos Aires and Montevideo to theatrical performances (e.g. *sainetes* and *el género chico*), these highly popular forms of entertainment served as effective vehicles for the popularization of tango.

Educational reforms implemented in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Argentina and Uruguay paved the way for the lyricists who would take the tango from the cafés and *academias*, onto the stage, and eventually into the cabarets of the cities. Tango lyricists such as Pascual Contursi, Celedonio Flores, and Enrique Cadícamo had been educated in the classics, and these and other literary influences were felt in their work. In particular, Bohemianism left its mark on tango in the use of motifs such

as the consumptive “fallen” woman or in the portrayal of the underbelly of the metropolis, revealing the plight of the masses. Particularly, the work of Buenos Aires poet Evaristo Carriego had a profound impact on the development of the *tango canción* and its presentation of these themes, in turn leading to its profuse integration and dissemination of the people’s vocabulary, *lunfardo*.

Also in chapter three, I have centered tango in its sociolinguistic context by discussing current definitions of *lunfardo*, exploring its history and tracing the etymology of *lunfardo* terms that are present in tango lyrics. A unique linguistic phenomenon intrinsically associated with tango, *lunfardo* is not a language or dialect, but is rather a lexical variety of *porteño* Spanish. Originally misidentified as an anti-language by the criminologists who were the first to study *lunfardo*, it was, in fact, an historical sociolect that evolved from the amalgamation of Buenos Aires Spanish with the languages brought by immigrants to the River Plate zone. Nevertheless, the incorrect assessment of *lunfardo* as a criminal’s language in conjunction with tango’s own connections to the *bajo fondo* of Buenos Aires have influenced the generally negative perception of tango lyrics over the years. Dating from the 1930s, tango lyrics, and consequently *lunfardo*, were subjected to censorship in efforts to sanitize the language of the people. *Lunfardo* is perceived as being a masculine vocabulary, both in its conception and in its content, which is corroborated by the greater quantity of nouns referring to males in the corpus. Nevertheless, women not only have a strong representation in female *lunfardo* terms overall, but within this corpus female gender was shown to have a strong effect on the creation of discourse prosodies. That is, in spite of occurring less frequently than nouns denominating males, female terms were more likely to create gendered discourse prosodies in this corpus; this will be elaborated on in the summary of chapter four. As the most idiosyncratic linguistic feature of tango lyrics, *lunfardo* has therefore been shown to have a significant impact on the formation of gendered discourse within the period studied (1897-1945). *Lunfardo* has always given tango its distinctive tone, however it has not been

confirmed until now that *lunfardo* is specifically responsible for generating the discourse surrounding women and men in tango lyrics.

This vital finding is elucidated in the fourth chapter, which presented the statistical methodology and results of this research. Using the corpus linguistics tool Sketch Engine, I have not only created the first Tango Lyrics Corpus, but have also been able to employ the analytical features of that tool to yield statistically significant results. After quantifying the discourse prosodies that were identified based on collocational relationships, I fitted a zero-inflated negative binomial generalized linear mixed effects model to analyze the data. Statistically significant results were obtained that verify that words designating females and words that are *lunfardo* have an effect on forming discourse prosodies about women and men; this is in spite of the fact that terms denoting males as well as gender terms in standard Spanish constituted the majority in the corpus.

Furthermore, I have shown that the statistical analysis of my study successfully answers the primary research question: How is language used to construct gender in tango lyrics? It was found that *lunfardo* cultural markers are central to this process. Essentially, *lunfardo* constructs gender in tango lyrics by creating predominantly negative discourse prosodies about women via collocations of *lunfardo* terms for women with other words, more so than similar terms in standard Spanish and more so than for words for men. Standard Spanish tends to construct positive discourse prosodies mainly for terms denoting men. More prosodies of any affect are created by *lunfardo* than by standard Spanish; however, most of the discourse prosodies are neutral in affect (43.33%), followed by negative (40.00%), and finally by discourses of positive affect (16.67%). Considering that 60% of the discourse prosodies were not identified as having a negative affect, it can be seen that gendered discourse in tango is not as negative as may be commonly believed; nevertheless there is still a decided tendency to portray women in a negative light more often than men. In summary, *lunfardo* is most likely to predict affect in this order: neutral, negative, and then positive. On the other hand, standard Spanish is most likely to predict affect in this

order: positive, negative, and then neutral. The affect of discourse prosodies created by female terms are more likely to be, respectively: negative, neutral, and finally positive, whereas those formed by male terms are more likely to be positive, neutral, and negative, in that order. The primary research question has not only been thoroughly answered with respect to the Tango Lyrics Corpus, but the significant statistical results mean that we can infer from this research that similar trends will occur across a corpus of all tango lyrics.

Additionally, the statistics generated from the data yielded Average Marginal Effects values (AME) for variables and were analyzed from several perspectives, including by data subsets, variety, gender, discourse prosodies, and by individual terms. This methodology has not only uncovered prosodies that might otherwise go undetected but has also incorporated a factor of predictability. The AME percentage values present a reasonable prediction that, in a larger corpus of tango lyrics, the likelihood that a given element will contribute to any given discourse prosody will increase by that percentage. In particular, the AME values of specific *lunfardo* cultural markers and standard Spanish terms illuminate the roles that those terms play in creating gendered discourse, thereby answering the third research question: What role (if any) do the specific cultural markers play in creating these images? The term *piba* was found to have the highest AME value for any discourse prosody (21.58%), and was therefore considered as the benchmark against which to compare the AME values of all other terms in the study.

The AME value is an important statistic emerging from this methodology in that it allows predictions to be made concerning the individual terms, irrespective of their raw frequency counts in the Tango Lyrics Corpus. In other words, the raw frequency count of the term *milonga* was 65, whereas that of *piba* was 18. Nevertheless, *piba* has an AME value of 21.58%, while *milonga* has an AME value of 19.64%. Therefore it can be concluded that *piba* will be a better predictor of creating any given discourse prosody than *milonga*, in spite of its lower frequency count in the corpus. Furthermore, the significant effects of the variables Female and *Lunfardo* from the

statistics indicate that this predictability can therefore be extrapolated onto a larger corpus: it can reasonably be expected that *piba* will be a greater predictor of discourse prosodies than any other term from this study in any other corpus of tango lyrics. While the AME values in many of the instances may be low, it is my assertion that any presence of predictability is remarkable; when these are considered in conjunction with the logDice scores generated by the collocations with other words from the texts, the AME values provide strong evidence of both the presence and the predictability of discourse prosodies, thereby contributing to our understanding of how gender is constructed in tango lyrics.

The second research question (What do these uses of gender-specific terms and cultural markers tell us about representations of women and men portrayed in tango lyrics?) is addressed by data-driven, qualitative analyses in the fifth and sixth chapters. I have closely examined three lyrics, one from the thematic Category A, *Amor y desamor* (“Se cortó la redoblona”) and two from Category P, *Personajes* (“Primer agua” and “Desde Piba”). The question of which thematic categories to study as well as the selection of specific tango lyrics to focus on was based on a data-driven approach, taking into consideration the discourse prosodies initially identified via the collocational relationships, as well as the AME values of the terms that generated those prosodies. This methodology has revealed “the 'resistant' or less frequent patterns” (P. Baker 128) in the discourse prosodies that elucidate ways in which men and women in tango lyrics perform gender, either in conventional or nonconformist manners.

The major findings in the analyses presented in chapters five and six uncovered the ways in which tango characters, especially women, were portrayed as challenging, or “undoing” (Deutsch 122) gender norms. The three principal discourse prosodies evidenced in both Category A (*Amor y desamor*) and Category P (*Personajes*) were: (WLM): *A/n X leaves a male or a place; A female leaves a/n Y*; (A): *A/n X or Y is materialistic, is avaricious*; and (S): *A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something*, which revealed that women in the texts do have considerably more agency than is normally

discussed in other analyses of tango lyrics. On the surface, tango song texts appear to foreground the tragedy of the *milonguita* as a “fallen woman,” but the results and analyses of this research have shown that the lyrics also portray subtly subversive actions on the part of female protagonists acting in counter to the societal norms of their day, thereby engaging in undoing gender.

In her departure from either her home in the *suburbio* or from her relationship with a man, the evidence of these prosodies affirms that the woman in tango texts takes the initiative in order to effect change in her life. This is supported by the presence of prosodies that unveil either her avarice or her ambition, and her desire for material acquisition and the resulting independence that marks her achievement is contrary to society’s prescribed roles for her gender. Furthermore, lyrics in Category A uncovered prosodies that highlight circumstances in which normative gender power structures are reversed and the woman is dominant, as illustrated in “Se cortó la redoblona.” As evidenced by the discourse prosodies that were analyzed, in power situations between males and females in tango, men typically hold sway over women by threatening physical harm or economic deprivation, whereas women maintain control through emotional dominance of some form. However, what is important is the fact that discourses accentuating female power have been demonstrated to be present in the lyrics. In spite of the male gaze, the woman in tango is not merely a “Pobre paica,” “Flor de fango” or even “Carne de cabaret”—she has made the choice to direct the course of her life rather than passively accept the conditions that society seeks to impose upon her, regardless of the outcome. This female agency is too often overlooked in analyses of the alleged tragedy of the *milonguita*, but is unveiled in the methodology of this research.

From the male perspective in the lyrics, female agency is conflated with the failure of sexual/romantic relationships and often results in acrimonious pushback, as is the case in “Se cortó la redoblona.” The greatest and most emasculating humiliation for the man is to be duped by the woman, converting him into a *gil* or *otario*. As the lyrics in Category A tend to consist of narratives describing unrequited or lost love,

these naturally demonstrate the active ways in which gender is undone. In “Se cortó la redoblona,” for example, the woman has asserted her agency by leaving the narrator and by manipulating her new lover to achieve her ends. The denouement of the narrative is a pathetic plea from the man in which he attempts to reassert his place of dominance in the relationship. Thus, each of these discourse prosodies addresses ways in which women challenge the normative expectations for gender, and uncovers ways in which hegemonic masculinity is effectively eroded.

On the other hand, discourse prosodies that were discovered in Category P highlight the nonconforming personalities that may be the cause of such actions. Gendered traits are foregrounded in these lyrics, with women being primarily defined by social means (i.e. environment and personal associations), while men are defined by representations of their individuality (i.e. material wealth and reputation). Tango males may be often esteemed for characteristics that are in opposition to societal norms of morality, however this may depend on their relative status in tango hierarchy. The *guapo*, therefore, is admired for his toughness, even his criminality; nevertheless a *compadrito* tends to be ridiculed for the mere attempt to emulate the *guapo*. The most reprehensible trait for a man is to be a poseur, someone who has not earned the respect that will elevate him to the status he desires. Carnelli uses these tropes to advantage in “Primer agua” to call into question *porteño* masculinity when she applies a typically female narrative to a male protagonist: the innocent young man who left the *arrabal* for the *centro* is shown to have descended to the most despicable behavior in order to attain material wealth and status. While the lyric does not ridicule the young man for falling into the ways of the *guapo*, neither does it render the admiration typically reserved for this type of tango male. Instead, as evidenced by the predominantly negative discourse prosodies identified in this lyric, the standards of tango masculinity are condemned through an ironic reversal of the gender norms used to portray that masculinity.

The tango female, in contrast, is held against the standard of the ideal Argentinian or Uruguayan woman, and her nonconformity to this ideal is seen as a

failure of her performance of femininity. In “Desde piba,” the female protagonist’s social and personal assertiveness is represented in masculine terms, which implies a harsh condemnation of those traits when manifested by a woman. Ultimately, to regain her femininity she must be infantilized and returned to the *barrio* of her youth. As with other lyrics in this category, the admiration of masculine traits in a woman is generally ironic and couched in derogatory terms. Nevertheless, as in the case of “Desde piba,” ostensible criticisms of female non-conformity are juxtaposed with revelations of female autonomy and agency. In spite of narratives that imply punitive consequences for women’s actions when they engage in undoing gender, the lyrics reveal women’s persistence in taking space for themselves in a patriarchal world. And while the negative narratives may seem to predominate, it must be remembered that this research has demonstrated that neutral discourses appeared in the corpus in greater numbers than negative. When the neutral discourse prosodies are combined with those that are positive, the remainder is a minority of 40% of gendered discourses that are negative. If we construe agency and autonomy as positive achievements, then, there is strong evidence that tango lyrics may be viewed as contributing to the empowerment of women. This was seen in the analyses of the principal discourse prosodies found in Category P, which uncovered contrasts in representations of positive versus negative discourse pertaining to masculinity and femininity in tango. In the two lyrics that were analyzed in chapter six, the constructs of one gender were employed to define the other: hegemonic masculinity is shown to be destructive when couched in the narrative normally reserved for portraying the degeneration of the innocent *piba* to the unregenerate *milonguita*, and compliant femininity is rejected by the masculinized language used to describe a woman who has relentlessly striven to exercise her autonomy.

7.2 Limitations of the Study

It must be remembered that this study employs corpus-based tools in an innovative way but is not a conventional corpus study in that it does not make use of a reference corpus, for the simple fact that no such corpus of tango lyrics exists.

Furthermore, the sample corpus of tango lyrics was relatively small, consisting of 285 texts, totaling 48,681 words, and was additionally composed of lyrics that were selected specifically for their use of nouns denoting men and women. As a result of the smaller corpus size and the narrow focus of the corpus, raw frequency counts of specific terms or discourse prosodies were occasionally low. However, P. Baker contends that “even a single occurrence could contribute towards an overall picture” (111), and this argument is strengthened when the robustness of the AME values in combination with the logDice collocational scores is taken into consideration. In spite of its small size, the corpus yielded statistically significant results, indicating that further research on a larger corpus of tango lyrics would be fruitful.

7.3 Implications for Further Research

The creation of the Tango Lyrics Corpus, the first linguistic corpus of this genre, is an important initial step towards the realization of a complete corpus of tango lyrics, and the success of this research further justifies undertaking such an endeavor. To date it has proven nearly impossible to pinpoint the exact number of extant tangos, with estimates ranging from 20,000 to over a million (García Blaya “Un millón”), however these figures do not distinguish between purely instrumental tangos and those with lyrics. Nevertheless, this research has not only paved the way for continued development of such a corpus, but has also demonstrated the value of this tool and its applied methodology to linguistic and literary analysis of tango texts. Indeed, the potential for new studies is already indicated within the parameters of the Tango Lyrics Corpus itself, let alone within that of an expanded corpus. This research takes advantage of only a portion of the utilities of Sketch Engine, such as the concordance, collocations, and Word Sketch features. Within the Word Sketch feature, in addition it would be possible to analyze other aspects of the node words, such as usage patterns (e.g. “milonga + ser” or “ser + milonga”). Furthermore, since the texts are tagged with metadata, such as the year of authorship/publication, a diachronic analysis of the discourse prosodies could be undertaken to determine if any shifts exist in those prosodies over time. Similarly, a diachronic analysis of the concordance lines of terms

could be made to determine whether or how meanings of individual terms have changed over time, which would benefit lexicographers working with *lunfardo*. The question of nuanced definitions of *mina* ranging from “woman” to “prostitute,” for example, might be resolved by scrutinizing tango texts from a series of years (e.g. 1897, 1907, 1917, 1927, the dates on which it appears in this corpus).

Another useful statistic to be gleaned from the corpus is the “Relative text type frequency” (Kilgarrieff and Rychlý; Kilgarrieff et al. “Ten Years On”). Relative text type frequencies of node words may be examined by metadata categories such as Lyricist or Year, and would provide information as to how much more likely a term would appear for a given author or year than in the whole corpus. As seen in Figures 16 and 17, the relative text type frequency for Lyricist indicates that the word *milonga* is approximately 15 times as common in texts by Vicente Greco than in the whole corpus, and *bacán* is nearly 16 times as common in texts by Ramón Collazo than in the entire corpus.

	File.lyricist	Frequency	↓ Relative [%]	
1	Vicente Greco	5	1,491.1	...
2	Horacio Pettorossi	4	982.4	...
3	Jacinto Font	5	948.9	...
4	Aguilar José María	3	855.8	...
5	Roberto Fontaina	3	672.1	...
6	Carlos Viván	2	633.5	...
7	Samuel Linnig	5	394.5	...
8	María Luisa Carnelli (under pseudonym: Luis Mario)	2	371.9	...
9	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo (under pseudonym Mario Reguero)	1	358.8	...
10	Ambrosio Río (payador)	1	345.3	...
11	Roberto Fontaina y Víctor Soliño	1	325.7	...
12	Luis Bayón Herrera y Manuel Romero	1	325.7	...
13	Arturo J. Rodríguez Bustamonte	1	312.4	...
14	Ramón Collazo	1	300.2	...
15	Manuel Romero	16	291.7	...
16	Eduardo Calvo	1	290.7	...
17	María Luisa Carnelli (under pseudonym: Mario Castro)	2	278.3	...
18	Enrique Cadícamo y Félix Manuel Pelayo	1	273.4	...
19	Miguel Eusebio Bucino	1	271.7	...
20	Juan Carlos Marambio Catán	1	267	...
21	Marvil (Elizardo Martínez Vilas)	1	225.1	...
22	José González Castillo	4	209.5	...
23	Alfredo Le Pera	2	201.4	...
24	Enrique Cadícamo	12	162.2	...
25	Celedonio Esteban Flores	13	154.4	...
26	Mario Battistella	2	132	...
27	Julio P. Navarrine	1	129.4	...
28	Fernán Silva Valdés	1	106.3	...
29	Pascual Contursi	5	78.1	...
30	Luis Roldán	2	71.7	...
31	Alberto Vacarezza	2	69.4	...
32	Francisco García Jiménez	2	64.2	...
33	Armando José Tagini	1	40.1	...
34	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo	1	27	...

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Figure 16 *Relative Text Type Frequencies by Lyricist for MILONGA*

	File.lyricist	Frequency	↓ Relative [%]	
1	Ramón Collazo	2	1,590.9	***
2	León A. Alberti	1	1,254.7	***
3	María Luisa Carnelli (under pseudonym: Luis Mario)	2	985.4	***
4	Roberto Fontaina y Víctor Soliño	1	863.1	***
5	José Eneas Riu	1	770.3	***
6	María Luisa Carnelli (under pseudonym: Mario Castro)	2	737.6	***
7	Manuel Romero y José Luis Bayón Herrera	1	724.4	***
8	Miguel Eusebio Bucino	1	720.1	***
9	Eduardo Trongé y Juan Fernández	1	585.1	***
10	Eduardo Escariz Méndez	1	545.8	***
11	Florencio Iriarte	1	459.3	***
12	Francisco García Jiménez	3	255.3	***
13	Samuel Linnig	1	209.1	***
14	Pascual Contursi	5	206.9	***
15	Manuel Romero	4	193.3	***
16	Luis Roldán	2	190	***
17	Celedonio Esteban Flores	5	157.4	***
18	Homero Manzi	1	144.7	***
19	Enrique Cadícamo	4	143.3	***
20	Armando José Tagini	1	106.2	***

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Figure 17 *Relative Text Type Frequencies by Lyricist for BACÁN*

Similarly, node words may be examined by the text type “Year” to gain understanding of diachronic usage, as shown in Figures 18 and 19 for *piba* and *taita*, respectively. Figure 18 shows that *piba* is 12 times more common c. 1925 than in the entire corpus, while Figure 19 shows that *taita* is 13 times more common in lyrics from 1907 than from any other year.

	File.year	Frequency	↓ Relative [%]	
1	c. 1925	1	1,196.7	...
2	c. 1920	1	717.4	...
3	1920	1	594.4	...
4	1930	4	345.8	...
5	1928	5	241.7	...
6	1933	1	232.5	...
7	1927	3	180.2	...
8	1923	1	126.9	...
9	1929	1	59.2	...

Figure 18 *Relative Text Type Frequencies by Year for PIBA*

	File.year	Frequency	↓ Relative [%]	
1	1907	5	1,341.5	...
2	1916	1	1,338.9	...
3	c. 1910	5	1,325.7	...
4	1911	1	850.5	...
5	c. 1926	1	759.7	...
6	1922	5	666.8	...
7	1914	3	664	...
8	1925	6	303.1	...
9	1936	1	235.2	...
10	c. 1918	1	210.6	...
11	1930	2	86.5	...
12	1923	1	63.4	...
13	1927	2	60.1	...
14	1929	1	29.6	...
15	1928	1	24.2	...

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Figure 19 *Relative Text Type Frequencies by Year for TAITA*

These results have useful applications for applying forensic linguistics methodologies to tango lyrics. Many lyrics have unknown authors, and some authors, such as Eloísa D’Herbil De Silva, wrote numerous tangos but may not have put their names to them (García Blaya “Un millón”). Most of D’Herbil’s work was instrumental; however she did author the lyrics to some tangos, very few of which have survived to this day, in part due to the fact that upon her death in 1944 (Gesualdo 529) her family destroyed anything tango-related as it was then viewed as shameful “tener una familiar tanguera” (Miguens). If a complete corpus of tango lyrics were created, it may be possible that some of Eloísa’s unknown texts would be included, and forensic linguistics methodologies might be utilized in an attempt to discover or confirm authorship. Clearly other anonymous lyrics might find authors if such a meticulous examination of a tango corpus were made, contributing greatly to historical knowledge of tango.

To facilitate further work with a comprehensive tango lyrics corpus, it would be advisable to build a sketch grammar with a POS tagset specifically targeting *lunfardo* and River Plate Spanish in general. As stated in chapter four (section 4.2.1), the Tango Lyrics Corpus uses the Spanish FreeLing part-of-speech tagset, which does not account for morphological and grammatical information pertinent to this lexical variety or variation. For example, a search for the verb *manyar* correctly identifies for POS in fewer than half of the results (5 of 18). In order to be able to use this corpus tool more effectively with *lunfardo*-based texts, a sketch grammar dedicated to *lunfardo* is recommended.

Finally, at this point the Tango Lyrics Corpus consists of only one genre: tango. Other types of songs such as *milonga*, *vals criollo*, and *canyengue* that fall under the wider umbrella of “tango” should be included, and I would further suggest adding proto-tangos, *tango prostibulario* (where lyrics are extant, such as “El Queco”), and Lehmann-Nitsche’s collection of *Textos eróticos*. As these texts may be tagged with metadata and therefore easily identified by genre, the inclusion of such a wide selection from the region would be indispensable to researchers.

7.4 Final Reflections

The primary aim of this thesis has been to examine the mechanisms by which *lunfardo* cultural markers establish gendered discourse in tango lyrics, and to that end it has succeeded. This thesis has confirmed with quantifiable data and qualitative analysis the importance of *lunfardo* to creating gendered discourse in tango. The methodology not only enhances the quality of what may be discovered, but additionally makes it possible to enlarge the search and to work with a large corpus of lyrics that might otherwise be cumbersome or impossible to analyze. It is useful in that it can illuminate trends in discourse that might go undetected, giving a good overview of what might be expected in close readings of the lyrics while revealing unusual or obscure prosodies. The creation of the Tango Lyrics Corpus has provided a new and invaluable resource to researchers of both tango and *lunfardo* and will contribute to the preservation of tango texts and to further research in the field. Finally, while this study has dissected tango lyrics at their most basic level, that dissection has led to a greater understanding of the creativity of the language with which they are constructed. Such close scrutiny of tango does not diminish its ineffable value as a unique expression of culture, but rather enhances our appreciation of tango as a whole. It is fitting, then, that this thesis closes with the words of José Gobello:

Una rosa puede ser explicada por la botánica, por la química, por la jardinería. Nada iguala, sin embargo, el placer de contemplarla. No la expliquen, ya más, que así es la rosa. No lo expliquen ya más, que así es el tango; inexplicable como la belleza misma, que necesita por igual del sujeto y del objeto unidos por una sutil complicidad.

(Gobello *Breve historia* 9-10)

GLOSSARY

All terms and expressions in this glossary are identified as standard Spanish (Stand.), colloquial Spanish (Colloq.), or *lunfardo* (Lunf.). It should be noted that while the Real Academia Española now includes many *lunfardo* terms and identifies them as Argentinian, Uruguayan, or River Plate colloquialisms, these are nevertheless designated *lunfardismos* by Conde (*Lunfardo* 141). As in the thesis (discussed in section 4.2.2), this glossary defers to the *Diccionario etimológico del lunfardo* (Conde) for determining whether or not a term is identified as *lunfardo*. In most cases, only the *lunfardo* definition is given for a word that may be both standard Spanish and *lunfardo* (e.g. *compadre*) as it is assumed that the reader is familiar with the standard meaning. Alternative spellings of terms appear in parentheses. English definitions are derived from the following sources, found in the Works Cited list: Academia; ASALE; Barcia; Benzecry Sabá; Carretero *Prostitución*; Carretero *Vida 2*; Conde *Diccionario*; Conde *Lunfardo*; García Blaya “El vals”; Gobello *Aproximación*; RAE *DLE*; Rossi; Salas; Vega.

Term or Expression	Definition
<i>a la gorda</i>	(Lunf.) Par excellence; exceptional.
<i>academia (de baile)</i>	(Lunf.) Originally schools for learning social dancing, <i>academias</i> evolved into social dance venues with refreshments and female taxi-dancers. Eventually the term <i>academia</i> came to be synonymous with brothel.
<i>achacador</i>	(Lunf.) Swindler; crook; criminal. A prosthetic form of <i>chacador</i> or <i>shacador</i> .
<i>alpiste</i>	(Lunf.) Whisky.
<i>alternadora</i>	(Lunf.) Woman who works in a cabaret entertaining and encouraging male customers to drink, thereby receiving a commission on the beverages consumed. See also <i>copera</i> and <i>milonguita</i> .
<i>alzarse</i>	(Lunf.) Leave; go away. / Become sexually aroused.

Term or Expression	Definition
<i>amurar</i>	(Lunf.) Abandon. / Deceive; harm; defraud. / Steal; rob.
<i>arrabal</i>	(Stand.) Suburban neighborhood. Although not a <i>lunfardo</i> term, this word is strongly associated with tango culture.
<i>atorrante</i>	(Lunf.) Lazy; good-for-nothing person.
<i>avivar</i>	Get with it; be aware. / Warn.
<i>bacán (bacanazo)</i>	(Lunf.) Wealthy man; sugar daddy. / Pimp. / Ostentatious man.
<i>bacana</i>	(Lunf.) Concubine, wealthy woman. / Woman who maintains a younger lover.
<i>bataclana</i>	(Lunf.) Chorus girl; dancer of low category.
<i>berretín</i>	(Lunf.) Obsession.
<i>boleadora</i>	(Stand.) Throwing weapon used for capturing animals, typically used by gauchos in ranching work.
<i>bombacha</i>	(Stand.) very loose, baggy trousers worn by gauchos.
<i>botón</i>	(Lunf.) Police officer. / Snitch.
<i>brincar</i>	(Lunf.) Become angry; become enraged.
<i>cabuliar</i>	(Lunf.) Plot; scheme.
<i>cafetín</i>	(Lunf.) Café whose clientele are males of low socioeconomic condition.
<i>cafishio (cafisho, cafiso, cafiolo)</i>	(Lunf.) Pimp. See also: <i>canfinflero</i> .
<i>caften</i>	(Lunf.) Pimp; owner of a brothel.
<i>cajeta</i>	(Lunf.) The female external genital organs.
<i>callejera</i>	(Lunf.) Prostitute; streetwalker.

Term or Expression	Definition
<i>candombe</i>	(Stand.) Lively, traditional South American dance of African origin, usually performed at Carnival time. / (Lunf.) Racket or disturbance; mess.
<i>canfinflero</i>	(Lunf.) Pimp who exploits only one woman.
<i>canyengue</i>	(Lunf.) Adj.: From the <i>arrabal</i> , of low social status. / Noun: A particular style of music and dancing associated with the early years of tango.
<i>caralisa</i>	(Lunf.) Smooth-faced pimp who powdered his hairless face with talc, leaving a shiny finish.
<i>chamullar (chamuyar)</i>	(Lunf.) Converse; speak in a confidential and persuasive tone.
<i>che</i>	(Lunf.) Vocative of the personal pronoun <i>vos</i> . / Interjection used to call or detain someone, or to draw someone's attention.
<i>china</i>	(Lunf.) Woman, especially a sweetheart, usually used affectionately in tango lyrics. The term originally signified a woman of indigenous heritage; when later used in this sense was a derogatory term. The <i>china</i> was usually the female companion of the <i>gaucho</i> , and a war-time camp follower.
<i>cielito</i>	(Stand.) Originally a form of spoken patriotic verse dating from 1811, the <i>cielito</i> became a popular folk dance in Argentina in the nineteenth century.
<i>cifra</i>	(Stand.) A name for a method of constructing a <i>payada</i> , in which the <i>payador</i> takes the last line of his competitor as a starting point for his verse. See <i>payada</i> .
<i>cimarrón</i>	(Lunf.) <i>Mate</i> prepared without sugar.
<i>ciruja</i>	(Lunf.) Junk man; rag-and-bone man.
<i>cocoliche</i>	(Lunf.) Italian-Spanish interlanguage, a mix of Italian and Spanish and often viewed as outlandish, which was spoken by some Italian immigrants.

Term or Expression	Definition
<i>cocote (cocota, cocotte)</i>	(Lunf.) High-class call girl.
<i>compadre</i>	(Lunf.) Gaucho who had settled in the city or its suburbs, characterized by a particular way of acting, speaking, and dressing, and who was a troublemaker as well as being boastful and cheeky. The <i>compadre</i> was often a thug hired by the neighborhood <i>caudillo</i> or a <i>barrio</i> boss himself who commanded the respect of other men within his dominion due to his position. Synonymous with <i>guapo</i> .
<i>compadrito</i>	(Lunf.) Degenerate son of the gaucho who had migrated to the inner city from the pampas, someone who desired to imitate the panache of the <i>compadre</i> or <i>guapo</i> , yet failed to achieve this status. Generally a pimp and a womanizer who was looked down upon and ridiculed.
<i>compadrón</i>	(Lunf.) Noun: Synonymous with <i>compadrito</i> , however <i>compadrón</i> has a slightly more derogatory connotation and the term is generally used in mockery. / Adj.: Arrogant; boastful; cocky.
<i>comparsa</i>	(Stand.) Group of people who are dressed alike, usually in costumes with humorous or sarcastic intent, and who participate in a popular festival. In the River Plate zone, these groups were usually associated with Carnival festivities.
<i>concha</i>	(Lunf.) The female external genital organs.
<i>copera</i>	(Lunf.) Woman who works in a cabaret entertaining and encouraging male customers to drink, thereby receiving a commission on the beverages consumed. See also <i>alternadora</i> and <i>milonguita</i> .
<i>corrida</i>	(Lunf.) Dance move in tango: a "run" of short steps.
<i>corte</i>	(Lunf.) Dance move in tango: a pause.
<i>criollo</i>	(Stand.) Creole. / Pertaining to rural environments or folkloric traditions of Argentina and Uruguay.

Term or Expression	Definition
<i>cuarteador</i>	(Lunf.) Teamster: Man who worked a team of horses that was used to pull other vehicles up steep hills or to extract them from the deep mud that clogged city streets.
<i>cueca</i>	(Stand.) South American folk dance found in Colombia, Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina, primarily characterized by movements in which the dancers wave handkerchiefs in circular figures.
<i>cuplé</i>	(Stand.) Short, light song originally sung in variety shows, similar to vaudeville or music hall numbers.
<i>dar corte</i>	(Lunf.) Pay attention to. / Return the affections of someone. / Comply with someone's amorous requests.
<i>décima</i>	(Stand.) Slow waltz whose lyrics consisted of ten octosyllabic lines. Precursor of the <i>estilo</i> .
<i>descangayada</i>	(Lunf.) Ramshackle; dilapidated.
<i>diquero</i>	(Lunf.) Ostentatious; arrogant.
<i>engrupidor</i>	(Lunf.) Liar; imposter.
<i>engrupir (engrupirse)</i>	(Lunf.) Entangle; confuse; distract. / Deceive; lie. <i>Engrupirse</i> : Become haughty or conceited; put on airs.
<i>escobero</i>	(Lunf.) <i>Bastonero</i> ; master of ceremonies who stands in the middle of the circle of a <i>candombe</i> , directing the dance with a baton or broom.
<i>estilo</i>	(Stand.) Musically embellished form of the <i>décima</i> , so named as each author contributed his own style (<i>estilo</i>) to the song form. Originally from Uruguay. It subsequently developed into a popular folk dance.
<i>estrilar</i>	(Lunf.) Become angry; become enraged.
<i>estrilo</i>	(Lunf.) Anger; rage.
<i>fachinero</i>	(Stand.) Brave, decisive man.
<i>facón</i>	(Lunf.) Large, straight knife.

Term or Expression	Definition
fajador	(Lunf.) Fighter; troublemaker.
fané	(Lunf.) Deteriorated; withered.
farra	(Lunf.) Partying. / Mockery.
flor (de)	(Lunf.) Used before a noun: reinforces the meaning of the noun, making it the "best" or "most" of something (e.g. "Flor de fango").
fulero	(Lunf.) Poor. / Angry.
funyi (fungui, funghi, funye)	(Lunf.) <i>Chambergo</i> : broad-brimmed slouch hat.
furca	(Lunf.) Mugging perpetrated by two or three thieves.
galleguita	(Lunf.) Feminine diminutive of <i>gallego</i> , <i>ga</i> , a synecdoche used to signify any person from Spain or of Spanish descent.
gambatear	(Lunf.) Break a promise. / Dodge; avoid a danger or problem.
ganzúa	(Stand.) lock pick; "slim jim" (jimmy, crowbar, jemmy): a tool for breaking into places; the thief that uses said tool.
garaba (garabita)	(Lunf.) Woman. <i>Garabita</i> : girl.
garabo	(Lunf.) Man. / Cultured and respectable person.
garufa	(Lunf.) Party; soiree. / Fun-loving individual given to partying.
gato (dance)	(Stand.) Folk dance characterized by rapid movements and in which the dancers are usually prompted or cued by a caller who announces the next moves.
gaucho	(Stand.) Skilled horseman; cowboy from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Southern Cone. (Lunf.) Used as an adjective: noble; valiant; generous.

Term or Expression	Definition
<i>género chico</i>	(Stand.) Short musical theater works of a generally popular or costumbrist nature.
<i>género ínfimo</i>	(Stand.) Theater variety show similar to burlesque or vaudeville and consisting of short, bawdy sketches.
<i>gigoló</i>	(Lunf.) Kept man; one who is financially dependent upon a wealthier woman or hired by said woman as a companion.
<i>gil</i>	(Lunf.) Fool; dupe; gullible person.
<i>gila</i>	(Lunf.) Feminine form of <i>gil</i> .
<i>gotán</i>	(Lunf.) <i>Vesre</i> of tango.
<i>grela</i>	(Lunf.) Woman.
<i>griseta</i>	(Lunf.) Young, poor woman.
<i>guapo</i>	(Lunf.) Thug; barrio boss. See <i>compadre</i> and its variants.
<i>guita</i>	(Colloq.) Money.
<i>habanera (cubana)</i>	(Stand.) Dance and musical genre originating in Cuba, having a 2/4 time signature and characterized by slow movements. Considered by many to be a precursor to tango.
<i>jetra</i>	(Lunf.) <i>Vesre</i> of <i>traje</i> [suit, (Stand.)].
<i>lancero/a</i>	(Lunf.) Pickpocket who used a <i>lanza</i> , or metal hook, to steal. As far as can be determined, this is unrelated to the <i>Lanceros</i> dance.
<i>largar</i>	(Lunf.) Surrender; give.
<i>ligar (liga)</i>	(Stand.) Be punished by beating. (Lunf.) Obtain. / Receive; perceive. / Be the object of something undesirable. / Surrender; give.
<i>loca</i>	(Lunf.) Prostitute. / Woman of loose morals.

Term or Expression	Definition
<i>lora</i>	(Lunf.) Prostitute. / Woman of loose morals.
<i>lunfardo</i>	(Lunf.) In this thesis <i>lunfardo</i> generally refers to the linguistic variety or vocabulary that originated in Buenos Aires in the nineteenth century and is the focus of this study. Details of its origins, uses, meanings, and dispersion to other areas are discussed in chapter three (see section 3.3). In its original usage, <i>lunfardo</i> signifies thief or crook.
<i>madam (madama)</i>	(Lunf.) Madam; woman in charge of the management of a brothel.
<i>malevo</i>	(Lunf.) Killer; thug who lived in the outskirts of Buenos Aires.
<i>manyar</i>	(Lunf.) Eat. / Know; be acquainted with; understand. / Recognize; identify. / Observe.
<i>marchanta (tirar a la marchanta)</i>	(Lunf.) Abandon; throw away; waste.
<i>marroquín (marroco)</i>	(Lunf.) Bread.
<i>mate</i>	(Lunf.) Infused, hot beverage made from <i>yerba mate</i> and drunk in the Southern Cone.
<i>maula</i>	(Lunf.) Cowardly; despicable. <i>Maula</i> appears in the corpus as a nominalized adjective.
<i>milonga (music & dance)</i>	(Lunf.) Popular form of music from the River Plate region, having a syncopated beat in a 2/4 tempo. / Dance that is performed to this music.
<i>milonga (person)</i>	(Lunf.) Abbreviated form of <i>milonguera</i> . See also: <i>copera</i> .
<i>milonga (venue)</i>	(Lunf.) Venue and social event where tango, <i>milonga</i> , and <i>vals cruzado</i> are danced.

Term or Expression	Definition
<i>milonguero, ra</i> <i>(milonguerita)</i>	(Lunf.) Aficionado of tango; person who regularly attends and dances at <i>milongas</i> . <i>Milonguera</i> : in tango lyrics, this term may be used as in the first definition or to signify a taxi dancer or <i>copera</i> .
<i>milonguita</i>	(Lunf.) Woman of the cabaret; <i>copera</i> . / Prostitute.
<i>mina</i>	(Lunf.) Woman. Often derogatory, with connotations of lover or prostitute.
<i>mishé (michet)</i>	(Lunf.) Older man who pays generously for the favors of a young woman.
<i>mishisadura</i> <i>mistongo</i>	(Lunf.) Poverty. (Lunf.) Poor; humble.
<i>monte</i>	(Stand.) Card game and also an apocope of <i>montepío</i> , referring to a type of bank: a mutual aid society or assistance fund.
<i>morlaco</i>	(Lunf.) Money.
<i>morocha</i>	(Stand.) Dark-haired or dark-skinned.
<i>mosaico</i>	(Lunf.) Young woman.
<i>muñeca</i>	(Lunf.) Unnamed woman, usually with pejorative connotations.
<i>orilla</i>	(Lunf.) Outskirts of the city.
<i>orillero, ra</i> <i>otario</i>	(Lunf.) Inhabitant of the outskirts [<i>orilla</i>]. (Lunf.) Easy mark or target for a thief. / Fool; innocent; dupe.
<i>paica</i> <i>palanquín</i>	(Lunf.) Young woman; girl. (Lunf.) Similar to a <i>ganzúa</i> : lock pick; “slim jim” (jimmy, crowbar, jemmy): a tool for breaking into places; the thief that uses said tool.
<i>papusa</i>	(Lunf.) Beautiful woman.
<i>patotero</i>	(Lunf.) Gang member.

Term or Expression	Definition
<i>payada</i>	(Stand.) Musical competition in which two <i>payadores</i> improvise verses accompanied by guitar, strongly associated with gaucho tradition. Also known as a <i>contrapunto</i> .
<i>payador</i>	(Stand.) Popular folk singer who accompanies himself on guitar, usually engaged in a <i>contrapunto</i> , or musical competition, with another <i>payador</i> .
<i>pebeta</i>	(Lunf.) Girl; adolescent girl.
<i>pelar</i>	(Lunf.) Draw a weapon quickly. / Bring to light; exhibit; show.
<i>percanta</i> <i>pericón</i>	(Lunf.) Woman, usually a love interest. (Stand.) popular Argentine folk dance, derived from the <i>cielito</i> . Like the <i>cielito</i> , it is also a line dance made up of multiple couples.
<i>peringundín</i>	(Lunf.) Dance venue patronized by <i>orilleros</i> , miscreants, and lowlifes. Also: <i>piringundín</i> .
<i>piba</i>	(Lunf.) Little girl; young girl; adolescent female; young woman. Generally used affectionately, however this may vary in tango lyrics.
<i>pibe</i>	(Lunf.) Little boy; young boy; adolescent male; youth. Generally used affectionately.
<i>pinta</i>	(Lunf.) Elegance, particularly in dress.
<i>pipistrela</i>	(Lunf.) Vulgar; rustic; crude. <i>Pipistrela</i> appears in the corpus as a nominalized adjective.
<i>pituco</i>	(Lunf.) Well-to-do young man; poseur.
<i>porra</i>	(Lunf.) Tangle of horsehair, dirt and thistles that forms in the tails and manes of horses. Used as an expletive.
<i>porteño</i>	(Stand.) Person or things from the port city of Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Term or Expression	Definition
<i>posta</i>	(Lunf.) Excellent; the "top"; superior. / True; reliable; trustworthy. / Of good quality.
<i>pulpería</i>	(Stand.) Combination of rural bar and general store / shop.
<i>pupila</i>	(Stand.) Euphemism for prostitute.
<i>quebrada</i>	(Lunf.) Dance move in early tango: a type of <i>corte</i> [pause], in which the male led the woman to bend at the waist.
<i>queco</i>	(Lunf.) Brothel.
<i>quemera</i>	(Lunf.) Person whose occupation was to sort through the <i>quema</i> , or piles of garbage destined for burning, salvaging anything that could be sold.
<i>rana</i>	(Lunf.) Scoundrel; vagabond. <i>Rana</i> appears in the corpus as an adjectivized noun meaning astute.
<i>rante</i>	(Lunf.) Apheresis of the term <i>atorrante</i> .
<i>remanye</i>	(Lunf.) Knowledge of someone's qualities and intentions.
<i>reo</i>	(Lunf.) Shamelessly lazy ne'er-do-well; lowlife.
<i>revista</i>	(Stand.) Revue; theater variety show with alternating spoken and musical numbers, usually lighthearted in character, similar to burlesque or vaudeville.
<i>rufián</i>	(Stand.) Pimp. Also: thug; roughneck, however that is not generally the connotation in tango.
<i>ruflera (runflera)</i>	(Lunf.) Lowlife. Adj.: Derogatory term to describe a member of the <i>runfla</i> , or the masses.
<i>runfla</i>	(Lunf.) Mob, the masses, lowlives.
<i>sainete</i>	(Stand.) Theatrical work in one or more acts, often comical, featuring popular settings and characters.
<i>shusheta (shushetín)</i>	(Lunf.) Dandy; fop.

Term or Expression	Definition
sotreta	(Colloq.) Lazy or useless person; loser.
taita	(Lunf.) Killer; man who is feared and respected for his bravery. / Man who excels in an activity; expert.
tango	(Lunf.) Partner dance from the River Plate zone, now spread internationally, in which an embraced couple dances to music having a characteristic 2/4 time signature.
tango andaluz	(Stand.) Flamenco tango, one of the <i>palos</i> [styles] of flamenco with a refrain of three to four octosyllabic lines.
tango criollo	(Stand.) Earliest form of tango as it evolved from "Black people's tango" and Andalusian tango and differentiated to the genre as it is known today, having a decidedly folkloric character.
taura	(Lunf.) Noun: Daring gambler. / Tough guy who boasts of being a <i>guapo</i> . / Adj.: courageous, daring, brave.
tovén	(Lunf.) Vesre of <i>vento</i> : money.
trunfo	(Stand.) Argentinian folk dance in which the couples advance and execute figures originating from the corners.
vals criollo (vals cruzado, vals tango, vals)	(Stand.) Waltz, whose music is arranged for the instrumentation of the <i>orquesta típica</i> of the tango.
vampiresa	(Lunf.) Seductive woman.
varietés	(Stand.) Theater variety show with alternating spoken and musical numbers, usually lighthearted in character, similar to burlesque or vaudeville.
vesre	(Lunf.) Syllabic metathesis in <i>lunfardo</i> , generally formed by inverting the order of syllables in a word.
vidalita	(Stand.) Type of popular song from northeastern Argentina, generally melancholy and dealing with themes of love.
yugar	(Lunf.) Work.

Term or Expression	Definition
<i>zamba</i>	(Stand.) Type of folkloric music and its accompanying dance, from northeastern Argentina.
<i>zarzuela</i>	(Stand.) Dramatic, musical play from Spain, with spoken and sung dialogue, similar to an operetta or light opera.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1. Discourse Prosodies

In the following table, X indicates a female-gendered term and Y indicates a male-gendered term from the study list. The X or Y is replaced by the study term. For example, in the case of *guapo* for the first discourse prosody, the statement may be read as “A *guapo* is bad or displays immoral traits.” The codes were assigned to each discourse prosody to facilitate statistical manipulation in the data set and readability in the plots; the word(s) in bold face contributed to the acronym. The discourse prosodies were originally grouped in the order presented here (i.e. by thematic similarities), however it should be noted that the R software alphabetized the acronyms in the results. The relative affect of each discourse prosody is given in the third column.

Code	Discourse Prosodies	Affect
B	A/n X or Y is bad or displays immoral traits	Negative
G	A/n X or Y is good or displays moral traits	Positive
F	A/n X or Y is faithful	Positive
I	A/n X or Y is unfaithful (I = infidelity)	Negative
M	A/n X or Y is mysterious / a mystery	Neutral
QMB	A/n X or Y displays certain negative or bad mental or emotional qualities	Negative
QMN	A/n X or Y displays certain neutral mental or emotional qualities	Neutral
QMG	A/n X or Y displays certain positive or good mental or emotional qualities	Positive
QP	A/n X or Y displays certain physical qualities	Neutral
O	A/n X or Y is from or belongs to a certain place (O = origin)	Neutral
LB	A/n X or Y has a negative or bad lifestyle or behavior	Negative

Code	Discourse Prosodies	Affect
LN	A/n X or Y has a neutral or normal lifestyle or behavior	Neutral
LG	A/n X or Y has a positive or good lifestyle or behavior	Positive
N	A/n X or Y used to live a certain way or have certain traits in the past (N = nostalgia)	Neutral
A	A/n X or Y is materialistic, is avaricious	Negative
S	A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something	Positive
U	A/n X or Y is unfortunate , suffers, or is to be pitied	Negative
D1	A/n X or Y lies, is deceitful	Negative
D2	A/n X or Y is deceived	Negative
P1	A/n X or Y is a possession or object	Negative
V	A/n X or Y's appearance or physical traits are significant (V = visual)	Neutral
WLM	A/n X leaves a male or a place; A female leaves a/n Y (WLM = woman leaves man)	Neutral
MLW	A/n Y leaves a female or a place; A male leaves a/n X (MLW = man leaves woman)	Neutral
MSW	A/n Y seeks a female ; A male seeks a/n X (MSW = man seeks woman)	Neutral
WSM	A/n X seeks a male ; A female seeks a/n Y (WSM = woman seeks man)	Neutral
MOW	A male has power over a/n X; A/n Y has power over a female (MOW = man over woman)	Negative
WOM	A/n X has power over a male ; A female has power over a/n Y (WOM = woman over man)	Negative
IR	A/n X or Y is described ironically	Neutral
POS	A/n X or Y acts as other than real self to impress others; A person acts as a/n X or Y to impress others (POS = poseur)	Negative
T	A/n X or Y participates in tango and its lifestyle	Neutral

APPENDIX 2. Lyrics of Tangos Discussed in Thesis

These are tango lyrics from the corpus that are discussed in the thesis, listed in alphabetical order by title. Line numbers have been added for ease of reference.

A la luz del candil

Year: 1927

Lyricist: Julio Navarrine

Composer: Carlos Vicente Geroni Flores

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Me da su permiso, señor Comisario, | 23. las trenzas de mi china |
| 2. disculpe si vengo tan mal entrazao, | 24. y el corazón de él. |
| 3. yo soy forastero y he caído al | |
| Rosario, | 25. Párese, sargento, que no me |
| 4. trayendo en los tientos un buen | retobo. |
| entripao. | 26. Yo quiero que sepan la verdad de a |
| 5. Quizás usted piense que soy un | mil; |
| matrero; | 27. La noche era oscura como boca'e |
| 6. yo soy gaucho honrado a carta | lobo, |
| cabal. | 28. Testigo solito la luz de un candil. |
| 7. No soy un borracho ni soy un | 29. Total, casi nada: un beso en la |
| cuatrero, | sombra, |
| 8. Señor comisario: yo soy criminal. | 30. dos cuerpos cayeron, y una |
| | maldición, |
| 9. Arrésteme, sargento, | 31. y allí, Comisario, si usted no se |
| 10. y póngame cadenas; | asombra, |
| 11. si soy un delincuente, | 32. yo encontré dos vainas para mi |
| 12. que me perdone Dios. | facón. |
| | |
| 13. Yo he sido un criollo bueno, | 33. Arrésteme, sargento, |
| 14. me llamo Alberto Arenas; | 34. y póngame cadenas; |
| 15. señor, me traicionaban | 35. si soy un delincuente, |
| 16. y los maté a los dos! | 36. que me perdone Dios. |
| 17. Mi china fue malvada, | |
| 18. mi amigo era un sotreta; | |
| 19. cuando me fui a otro pago | |
| 20. me basureó la infiel. | |
| 21. Las pruebas de la infamia | (Romano 117-119) |
| 22. las traigo en la maleta: | |

Acquaforte

Year: 1932

Lyricist: Juan Carlos Marambio Catán

Composer: Horacio Pettorossi

1. Es media noche, el cabaret despierta;
2. muchas mujeres, flores y champán.
3. Va a comenzar la eterna y triste fiesta
4. de los que viven al ritmo de un gotán.
5. Cuarenta años de vida me encadenan,
6. blanca la testa, viejo el corazón;
7. hoy puedo ya mirar con mucha pena
8. lo que otros tiempos miré con ilusión.

9. Las pobres milongas,
10. dopadas de besos,
11. me miran extrañas,
12. con curiosidad.
13. Ya no me conocen,
14. estoy solo y viejo,
15. no hay luz en mis ojos,
16. La vida se va...

17. Un viejo verde que gasta su dinero
18. emborrachando a Lulú con el champán
19. hoy le negó el aumento a un pobre obrero
20. que le pidió un pedazo más de pan.
21. Aquella pobre mujer que vende flores
22. y fue en mi tiempo la reina de Montmartre
23. me ofrece, con sonrisa, unas violetas
24. para que alegren, tal vez, mi soledad.

25. Y pienso en la vida...
26. las madres que sufren,
27. los hijos que vagan
28. sin techo ni pan...
29. Vendiendo "La Prensa",
30. ganando dos guititas...
31. ¡Qué triste es todo esto!
32. ¡Quisiera llorar!

(Gobello *Letras* 186-8; Romano 223-24)

Alma de bohemio

Year: 1914

Lyricist: Juan Andrés Caruso

Composer: Roberto Firpo

1. Peregrino y soñador,
2. cantar
3. quiero mi fantasía
4. y la loca poesía
5. que hay en mi corazón,
6. y lleno de amor y de alegría,
7. volcaré mi canción.
8. Siempre sentí
9. la dulce ilusión,
10. de estar viviendo
11. mi pasión.
12. Si es que vivo lo que sueño,
13. yo sueño todo lo que canto,
14. por eso mi encanto
15. es el amor.
16. Mi pobre alma de bohemio
17. quiere acariciar
18. y como una flor
19. perfumar.
20. Y en mis noches de dolor,
21. a hablar
22. me voy con las estrellas
23. y las cosas más bellas,
24. despierto he de soñar,
25. porque le confío a ellas
26. toda mi sed de amar.
27. Siempre sentí
28. la dulce ilusión,
29. de estar viviendo
30. mi pasión.
31. Yo busco en los ojos celestes
32. y renegridas cabelleras,
33. pasiones sinceras,
34. dulce emoción.
35. Y en mi triste vida errante
36. llena de ilusión,
37. quiero dar todo
38. mi corazón.

(Caruso)

Alma de loca

Year: 1927

Lyricist: Jacinto Font

Composer: Guillermo Cavazza

1. Milonguera, bullanguera, que la va de alma de loca,
2. la que con su risa alegre, vibrar hace el cabaret,
3. la que lleva la alegría en los ojos y en la boca,
4. la que siempre fue la reina de la farra y del placer.
5. Todo el mundo te conoce de alocada y jaranera,
6. todo el mundo dudaría lo que yo puedo jurar:
7. que te he visto la otra noche parada ante una vidriera
8. contemplando a una muñeca con deseos de llorar.

9. Te pregunté qué tenías y me respondiste: nada...
10. pero advertí al verte tan turbada
11. que era tu intento ocultarme la verdad.
12. La sonrisa que tus labios dibujaban quedó helada
13. y una imprevista lágrima traidora
14. como una perla de tus ojos fue a rodar.

15. Quién creyera, milonguera, vos que siempre te reíte,
16. y que siempre te burlaste de la pena y del dolor,
17. ibas a mostrar la hilacha poniéndote seria y triste
18. ante una pobre muñeca modestita, y sin valor.
19. Yo te guardaré el secreto, no te aflijas, milonguita,
20. por mí nunca sabrá nadie que has dejado de reír,
21. y no vuelvas a mirar a la pobre muñequita
22. que te recuerda una vida que ya no puedes vivir.

23. Ríe siempre, milonguera, bullanguera, casquivana
24. para qué quieres amargar tu vida
25. pensando en esas cosas que no pueden ser.
26. Corre un velo a tu pasado, sé milonga, sé mundana,
27. para que así los hombres no descubran
28. tus amarguras, tus tristezas de mujer.

(Font)

Aquella cantina de la ribera

Year: 1926

Lyricist: José González Castillo

Composer: Cátulo Castillo

1. Brillando en las noches del puerto,
desierto,
2. como un viejo faro, la cantina está
3. llamando a las almas que no tienen
puerto
4. porque han olvidado la ruta del
mar.
5. Como el mar, el humo de nieblas la
viste
6. y envuelta en la gama doliente del
gris
7. parece una tela muy rara y muy
triste
8. que hubiera pintado Quinquela
Martín.
9. Rubias mujeres de ojos de estepa,
10. lobos noruegos de piel azul,
11. negros grumetes de la Jamaica,
12. hombres de cobre de Singapur.
13. Todas las pobres almas sin rumbo
14. que aquí a las plazas arroja el mar,
15. desde los cuatro vientos del mundo
16. y en la tormenta de una jazz-band.
17. Pero hay en las noches de aquella
cantina
18. como un pincelazo de azul en el
gris,
19. la alegre figura de una ragazzina
20. más breve y ardiente que el ron y
que el gin.
21. Más breve cien veces que el mar y
que el viento,
22. porque en toda ella como un fuego
son
23. el vino de Capri y el sol de Sorrento
24. que queman sus ojos y embriagan
su voz.
25. Cuando al doliente compás de un
tango
26. la ragazzina suele cantar,
27. sacude el alma de la cantina
28. como una torva racha de mar.
29. Y es porque saben aquellos lobos
30. que hay en el fondo de su canción
31. todo el peligro de las borrascas
32. para la nave del corazón.

(Gobello *Letras* 98-99; Romano 91-92)

Arrabalero

Year: 1927

Lyricist: Eduardo Calvo

Composer: Osvaldo Fresedo

1. Soy la pebeta más rechiflada
2. que en el suburbio pasó la vida;
3. soy la percanta que fue querida
4. de aquel malevo que la amuró.
5. Soy el orgullo del barrio entero,
6. tengo una efe que es mi ilusión,
7. pues soy criolla, soy milonguera,
8. quiero a mi hombre de corazón.

9. En un bulín mistongo
10. del arrabal porteño,
11. lo conocí en un sueño,
12. le di mi corazón.
13. Supe que era malevo,
14. lo quise con locura,
15. sufrí por su ventura
16. con santa devoción.
17. Ahora, aunque me faje,
18. purrete arrabalero,
19. ya sabe que lo quiero
20. con toda mi ilusión,
21. y que soy toda suya,
22. que suyo es mi cariño,
23. que nuestro será el niño
24. obra del metejón.

25. Por ser derecha tengo un machito
26. arrabalero de Puente Alsina;
27. se juega entero por esta mina
28. porque la sabe de corazón.
29. Pero si un día llega a engañarme
30. como hacen otros con sus mujeres,
31. esta percanta que ríe y canta
32. llorará sangre por su traición.

(Gobello *Letras* 124)

Así se baila el tango

Year: 1942

Lyricist: Elizardo Martínez Vilas (pseudonyme: Marvil)

Composer: Elías Randal

1. ¡Qué saben los pitucos, lamidos y shushetas!
2. ¡Qué saben lo que es tango, qué saben de compás!
3. Aquí está la elegancia. ¡Qué pinta! ¡Qué silueta!
4. ¡Qué porte! ¡Qué arrogancia! ¡Qué clase pa'bailar!
5. Así se corta el césped mientras dibujo el ocho,
6. para estas filigranas yo soy como un pintor.
7. Ahora una corrida, una vuelta, una sentada...
8. ¡Así se baila el tango, un tango de mi flor!

9. ¡Así se baila el tango!
10. Sintiendo en la cara
11. la sangre que sube
12. a cada compás;
13. mientras el brazo,
14. como una serpiente,
15. se enrosca en el talle
16. que se va a quebrar.
17. ¡Así se baila el tango!
18. mezclando el aliento,
19. cerrando los ojos
20. pa' escuchar mejor,
21. cómo los violines
22. le cuentan al fueye
23. por qué desde esa noche
24. Malena no cantó.

25. ¿Será mujer o junco, cuando hace una quebrada,
26. tendrá resorte o cuerda para mover los pies?
27. Lo cierto es que mi prenda, que mi peor es nada,
28. bailando es una fiera que me hace enloquecer...
29. A veces me pregunto si no será mi sombra
30. que siempre me persigue, o un ser sin voluntad.
31. Pero es que ya ha nacido así, pa' la milonga
32. y, como yo, se muere, se muere por bailar...

(Romano 301-02)

Bailarín compadrito

Year: 1929

Lyricist: Miguel Eusebio Bucino

Composer: Miguel Eusebio Bucino

1. Vestido como dandy, peinao a la gomina
2. y dueño de una mina más linda que una flor,
3. bailás en la milonga con aire de importancia,
4. luciendo la elegancia y haciendo exhibición.

5. Cualquiera iba a decirte, che, reo de otros tiempos,
6. que un día llegarías a rey de cabaret,
7. que pa' enseñar tu corte pondrías academia...
8. Al taura siempre premia la suerte que es mujer.

9. Bailarín compadrito,
10. que floriaste tu corte primero,
11. en el viejo bailongo orillero
12. de Barracas al sur.

13. Bailarín compadrito,
14. que quisiste probar otra vida,
15. y al lucir tu famosa corrida
16. te viniste al Maipú.

17. Araca, cuando a veces oís La Cumparsita
18. yo sé cómo palpita tu cuore al recordar
19. que un día lo bailaste de lengue y sin un mango
20. y ahora el mismo tango bailás hecho un bacán.

21. Pero algo vos darías por ser sólo un ratito
22. el mismo compadrito del tiempo que se fue,
23. pues cansa tanta gloria y un poco triste y viejo
24. te ves en el espejo del viejo cabaret.

(Gobello *Letras* 156-57; Romano 163-64)

Bajo Belgrano

Year: 1926

Lyricist: Francisco García Jiménez

Composer: Anselmo Aieta

1. Bajo Belgrano, cómo es de sana
2. tu brisa pampa de juventud,
3. que trae silbido, canción y risa
4. desde los patios de los studs.
5. ¡Cuánta esperanza la que en voz vive!...
6. La del peoncito que le habla al crack:
7. "Sacame 'e pobre, pingo querido,
8. no te me manques pa'l Nacional"...

9. La tibia noche de primavera
10. turban las violas en "El Lucero",
11. se hizo la fija del parejero
12. y están de asado, baile y cantor.
13. Y mientras pierde la vida un tango
14. que el ronco fueye lento rezonga,
15. se alza la cifra de una milonga
16. con el elogio del cuidador.

17. Calle Blandengues, donde se asoma
18. la morochita linda y gentil,
19. que pone envuelta en su mirada
20. su simpatía sobre un mandil.
21. Y en la alborada de los aprontes
22. al trote corto del vareador,
23. se cruza el ansia de la fortuna
24. con la sonrisa del buen amor.

25. Bajo Belgrano... cada semana
26. el grito tuyo que viene al centro:
27. "¡Programa y montas para mañana!..."
28. las ilusiones prendiendo va.
29. ¡Y en el delirio de los domingos
30. tenés reunidos, frente a la cancha,
31. gritando el nombre de tus cien pingos,
32. los veinte barrios de la ciudad!...

(Gobello *Letras* 99-100; Romano 106-07)

Barrio de tango

Year: 1942

Lyricist: Homero Manzi

Composer: Aníbal Troilo

1. Un pedazo de barrio, allá en Pompeya,
2. durmiéndose al costado del terraplén.
3. Un farol balanceando en la barrera
4. y el misterio de adiós que siembra el tren.
5. Un ladrido de perros a la luna.
6. El amor escondido en un portón
7. y los sapos redoblando en la laguna
8. y a lo lejos la voz del bandoneón.

9. Barrio de tango, luna y misterio,
10. calles lejanas, ¡cómo estarán!
11. Viejos amigos que hoy ni recuerdo,
12. ¡qué se habrán hecho, dónde estarán!
13. Barrio de tango, qué fue de aquella,
14. Juana, la rubia, que tanto amé.
15. ¡Sabrá que sufro, pensando en ella,
16. desde la tarde que la dejé!
17. Barrio de tango, luna y misterio,
18. ¡desde el recuerdo te vuelvo a ver!

19. Un coro de silbidos allá en la esquina.
20. El codillo llenando el almacén.
21. Y el dramón de la pálida vecina
22. que ya nunca salió a mirar el tren.
23. Así evoco tus noches, barrio tango,
24. con las chatas entrando al corralón
25. y la luna chapaleando sobre el fango
26. y a lo lejos la voz del bandoneón.

(Gobello *Letras* 234-35; Romano 318-19)

Calandria

Year: c. 1911

Lyricist: Ángel Gregorio Villoldo

Composer: Ángel Gregorio Villoldo

1. Aquí tienen a Calandria
2. que es un mozo de renombre,
3. el que para un tango criollo
4. no le teme a ningún hombre;
5. el que siempre está dispuesto
6. si se trata de farrear;
7. el que cantando milongas
8. siempre se hace respetar.

9. No hay campadre que me asuste,
10. por más guapo y cuchillero,
11. porque en casos apurados
12. sé manejar el acero.
13. El miedo no lo conozco y
14. jamás me sé asustar,
15. y el que pretenda ganarme
16. tiene mucho que sudar.

17. Soy compadre entre compadres
18. y decente entre la gente,
19. pues como conozco el mundo
20. me arreglo a cualquier ambiente.
21. Sigo el consejo de un sabio
22. que me solía decir:
23. "Vivir cualquier sonzo sabe,
24. la biblia es saber vivir".

25. No siento penas ni agravios
26. ni me quejo de la suerte;
27. para farrear he nacido
28. y así seré hasta la muerte;
29. y cuando expirar me toque,
30. lo juro de corazón:
31. moriré como buen criollo,
32. dando un viva a mi nación.

(Rivadeneira 44, Villoldo "Calandria")

Carnaval

Year: 1927

Lyricist: Francisco García Jiménez

Composer: Anselmo Aleta

1. ¿Sos vos, pebeta? ¿Sos vos? ¿Cómo te va?
2. ¿Estás de baile? ¿Con quién? ¡Con un bacán!
3. ¡Tan bien vestida, das el golpe!...
4. Te lo digo de verdad...
5. ¿Habré cambiado que vos, ni me mirás,
6. y sin decirme adiós, ya vas a entrar?
7. No te apresures.
8. Mientras paga el auto tu bacán,
9. yo te diré:
10. ¿Dónde vas con mantón de Manila,
11. dónde vas con tan lindo disfraz?
12. Nada menos que a un baile lujoso
13. donde cuesta la entrada un platal...
14. ¡Qué progresos has hecho, pebeta!
15. Te cambiaste por seda el percal...
16. Disfrazada de rica estás papa,
17. lo mejor que yo vi en Carnaval.
18. La vida rueda... También rodaste vos.
19. Yo soy el mismo que ayer era tu amor.
20. Muy poca cosa: un buen muchacho,
21. menos plata que ilusión.
22. Y aquí en la puerta, cansado de vagar,
23. las mascaritas al baile miro entrar.
24. Vos entrás también
25. y la bienvenida, a media voz,
26. yo te daré.
27. Divertite, gentil Colombina,
28. con tu serio y platudo Arlequín.
29. Comprador del cariño y la risa,
30. con su bolsa que no tiene fin.
31. Coqueteá con tu traje de rica
32. que no pudo ofrecerte Pierrot,
33. que el disfraz sólo dura una noche,
34. pues lo queman los rayos del sol.

(Romano 123-24)

Carne de cabaret

Year: c. 1920

Lyricist: Luis Roldán

Composer: Pacífico V. Lambertucci

1. Pobre percanta que pasa su vida
2. entre la farra, milonga y champán,
3. que lleva enferma su almita perdida
4. que cayó en garras de un torpe bacán
5. y que en su pecho tan sólo se anida
6. el triste goce que causa un gotán.
7. Su ilusión murió en el cabaret
8. al compás de un tango compadrón
9. y al notar perdida ya su fe
10. quedó su corazón
11. transido en la emoción
12. el dolor las fuerzas le restó
13. comprendiendo al fin su berretín
14. y una noche que se encurdeló
15. sus penas entregó a un rubio copetín.
16. Por eso su alma en silencio solloza
17. y es una mueca su risa cruel
18. y cuando besa su boca de rosa
19. deja en los labios amargo de hiel
20. y en su carita amarilla, ojerosa,
21. se ven las huellas de un amor infiel.
22. Y así fue en la pendiente fatal,
23. del cabaret al hospital,
24. y a ninguno encontró que por su mal
25. tuviera compasión,
26. pues sin razón la dejaron sufrir
27. y a su ilusión la dejaron morir.
28. Y así fue en la pendiente fatal
29. del cabaret al hospital
30. donde asilo encontró.
31. Pobre percanta que está contratada
32. vendiendo su alma por un copetín,
33. que de una vida feliz engañada,
34. lleva en el alma tristeza y esplín,
35. y que pasando su vida amargada
36. llora en silencio su pena sin fin.

(Gobello *Letras* 52-53)

Claudinette

Year: 1940

Lyricist: Amleto Vergiati (pseudonym: Julián Centeya)

Composer: Enrique Delfino

1. Ausencia de tus manos en mis manos,
2. distancia de tu voz que ya no está...
3. Mi buena Claudinette de un sueño vano,
4. perdida ya de mí, ¿dónde andarás?

5. La calle dio el encuentro insospechado,
6. la calle fue después quien te llevó...
7. Tus grandes ojos negros, afiebrados,
8. llenaron de tiniebla mi pobre corazón.

9. Medianoche parisina
10. en aquel café-concert,
11. como envuelta en la neblina
12. de una lluvia gris y fina
13. te vi desaparecer.

14. Me dejaste con la pena
15. de saber que te perdí,
16. mocosita dulce y buena
17. que me diste la condena
18. de no ser jamás feliz.

19. Mi sueño es un fracaso que te nombra
20. y espera tu presencia, corazón,
21. por el camino de una cita en sombra
22. en un país de luna y de farol.

23. Mi Claudinette pequeña y tan querida,
24. de blusa azul y la canción feliz,
25. definitivamente ya perdida,
26. me la negó la calle, la calle de París.

(Gobello *Letras* 229; Romano 290-91)

Compadrón

Year: 1927

Lyricist: Enrique Cadícamo

Composer: Luis Visca

1. Compadrito a la violeta,
2. si te viera Juan Malevo
3. qué calor te haría pasar.
4. No tenés siquiera un cacho
5. de ese barro chapaleado
6. por los mozos del lugar.
7. El escudo de los guapos
8. no te cuenta entre sus gules
9. por razones de valer.
10. Tus ribetes de compadre
11. te engrupieron, no lo dudes.
12. ¡Ya sabrás por qué!

13. Compadrón
14. prontuariado de vivillo
15. entre los amigotes que te siguen,
16. sos pa' mí, aunque te duela,
17. compadre sin escuela, retazo de bacán.
18. Compadrón,
19. cuando quedes viejo y solo (¡Colo!)
20. y remanyes tu retrato (¡Gato!),
21. notarás que nada has hecho...
22. Tu berretín deshecho
23. verás desmoronar.

24. En la timba de la vida
25. sos un punto sin arrastre
26. sobre el naípe salidor,
27. y en la cancha de este mundo
28. sos un débil pa'l biabazo,
29. el chamuyo y el amor.
30. Aunque busques en tu verba
31. pintorescos contraflores
32. pa' munirte de cachet,
33. yo me digo a la sordina
34. ¡Dios te ayude, compadrito
35. de papel maché!

(Cadícamo "Compadrón")

Copen la banca

Year: 1927

Lyricist: Enrique Dizeo

Composer: Juan Maglio

1. Cadenero de buen porte, garabito a la piu bela,
2. pinta brava de muchacho con tu jetra shushetín,
3. académico en el arte de tallar a la alta escuela,
4. con razón bancás el juego más debute de quiniela
5. y tirás monte con puerta en lo del viejo Anyulín.

6. La corriste siempre en yunta con el lince veterano.
7. Muchos años de servicio en la vida ya llevás.
8. A tu juego te llamaron si hay bochinche en el pantano
9. porque sos la zurda linda, la muñeca... Si es en vano
10. que chamuyen los pipiolos que pegás, pero de atrás...

11. Vos copaste cualquier banca y cantaste las cuarenta.
12. Con parolas de platino tus hazañas quedarán.
13. En la historia de los reos, donde todo se comenta
14. dormita la biografía del cacique de más menta
15. como un recuerdo mistongo de los ranas que se van.

16. Embrocás todito el paño que apoliya sobre el mapa.
17. Zapateaste por el Este, por el Norte y por el Sur.
18. Te respetan los vivillos y, todavía, de yapa,
19. no te falta quien te alise, quien te planche la solapa
20. con halagos amorosos porque valés un Perú.

21. Dale gracia a la gambeta que apañaste en la experiencia
22. y a la astucia de hombre sabio si hoy cargás mucho parné.
23. Has vivido echando buena en la cancha de la ciencia...
24. Si hasta el tira, cada tanto, quince días de licencia
25. te los da para que yires ostentando el pedigree.

(Gobello *Letras* 126; Romano 109-10)

Corrientes y Esmeralda

Year: 1934

Lyricist: Celedonio Flores

Composer: Francisco Pracánico

1. Amainaron guapos junto a tus ochavas
2. cuando un cajetilla los calzó de cross
3. y te dieron lustre las patotas bravas
4. allá por el año... novecientos dos...
5. Esquina porteña, tu rante canguela
6. se hace una melange de caña, gin fitz,
7. pase inglés y monte, bacará y quiniela,
8. curdelas de grappa y locas de pris.
9. El Odeón se manda la Real Academia
10. rebotando en tangos el viejo Pigall,
11. y se juega el resto la doliente anemia
12. que espera el tranvía para su arrabal.
13. De Esmeralda al norte, del lao de Retiro,
14. franchutas papusas caen en la oración
15. a ligarse un viaje, si se pone a tiro,
16. gambeteando el lente que tira el botón.
17. En tu esquina un día, Milonguita, aquella
18. papirosa criolla que Linnig mentó,
19. llevando un atado de ropa plebeya
20. al hombre tragedia tal vez encontró...
21. Te glosa en poemas Carlos de la Púa
22. y el pobre Contursi fue tu amigo fiel...
23. En tu esquina rea, cualquier cacatúa
24. sueña con la pinta de Carlos Gardel.
25. Esquina porteña, este milonguero
26. te ofrece su afecto más hondo y cordial.
27. Cuando con la vida esté cero a cero
28. te prometo el verso más rante y canero
29. para hacer el tango que te haga inmortal.

(Gobello *Letras* 199-200; Romano 249-50)

Cotorrita de la suerte

Year: 1927

Lyricist: José de Grandis

Composer: Alfredo de Franco

1. Cómo tose la obrerita por la noche,
2. Tose y sufre por el cruel presentimiento
3. de su vida que se extingue, y el tormento
4. no abandona su tierno corazón.
5. La obrerita juguetona, pizpireta,
6. la que diera a su casita la alegría,
7. la que vive largas horas de agonía
8. porque sabe que a su mal no hay salvación.

9. Pasa un hombre quien pregona:
10. ¡Cotorrita de la suerte
11. augura la vida o muerte!
12. ¿Quiere su suerte probar?
13. La obrerita se resiste
14. por la duda temerosa
15. y un papel de color rosa
16. la cotorra va a sacar.

17. Al leerlo su mirada se animaba
18. y temblando ante la dicha prometida
19. tan alegre leyó: Un novio, larga vida...
20. Y un sollozo en su garganta reprimió.
21. Desde entonces deslizáronse sus días
22. esperando al bien amado ansiosamente
23. y la tarde en que moría tristemente
24. preguntó a su mamita: ¿No llegó?

(Romano 126-27)

Cuando el corazón

Year: 1938

Lyricist: Carmelo Santiago

Composer: Francisco Canaro

1. Una estrella que cayó del firmamento,
2. hecha carne por milagro de la vida
3. en momentos en que mi alma estaba herida
4. con sus luces mi destino iluminó.
5. Hoy no siento ya el dolor de mis heridas,
6. todo es alegría, un canto de amor.

7. Cuando el corazón,
8. Cuando el corazón nos habla de un amor,
9. revive la fe, florece la ilusión.
10. Cuando el corazón recuerda a una mujer
11. la vida es gozar y el vivir querer.
12. Cuando el corazón palpita con ardor,
13. todo es risa y luz, en todo hay emoción;
14. canto a la esperanza, fe en el porvenir;
15. amar a una mujer eso es vivir.

16. Cascabeles de cristal hay en tu risa
17. y caricia en el calor de tu mirada,
18. en tu boca de coral está engarzada
19. de un beso de ternura angelical.
20. Una estrella que cayó del firmamento,
21. inspiró mi verso, con su titilar.

(Gobello *Letras* 223-24)

Cuando llora la milonga

Year: 1927

Lyricist: María Luisa Carnelli (pseudonym: Luis Mario)

Composer: Juan de Dios Filiberto

1. Sollozó el bandoneón
2. congojas que se van
3. con el anochecer.

4. Y como un corazón,
5. el hueco de un zaguán,
6. recoge la oración
7. que triste dice fiel mujer.

8. Lloró la milonga,
9. su antigua pasión,
10. parece que ruega
11. consuelo y perdón.

12. La sombra cruzó
13. por el arrabal
14. de aquel que a la muerte
15. jugó su puñal.

16. Dos viejos unidos
17. en un callejón,
18. elevan las manos
19. por su salvación.

20. Y todo el suburbio,
21. con dolor,
22. evocan un hondo
23. drama de amor.

24. Conmovió el arrabal
25. con largo estremecer
26. el toque de oración.

27. Dolor sentimental
28. embarga a la mujer
29. en tanto el bandoneón
30. la historia reza de un querer.

(Mario)

De todo te olvidas (Cabeza de novia)

Year: 1929

Lyricist: Enrique Cadícamo

Composer: Salvador Merico

1. De un tiempo a esta parte, muchacha, te noto
2. más pálida y triste. Decí: ¿qué tenés?
3. Tu carita tiene el bláncor del loto
4. y yo, francamente, chiquita, no sé...
5. ¿Qué pena te embarga? ¿Por qué ya no ríes
6. con ese derroche de plata y cristal?
7. Tu boquita, donde sangraron rubíes,
8. hoy muestra una mueca, trasuntando un mal...

9. El piano está mudo...
10. Tus ágiles manos
11. no arrancan el tema
12. del tango tristón...
13. A veces te encuentro
14. un poco amargada,
15. llorando, encerrada,
16. en la habitación.
17. Y he visto, extrañando,
18. que muy a menudo,
19. de todo te olvidas,
20. cabeza de novia,
21. nimbada de amor.

22. ¿Qué es lo que te pasa? Cuéntame; te ruego
23. que me confidencias tu preocupación.
24. Acaso tu pena es la que Carriego,
25. rimando quartetas, a todos contó.
26. De todo te olvidas, cabeza de novia,
27. pensando en el chico que en tu corazón
28. dejó con sus besos sus credos amantes,
29. como un ofertorio de dulce pasión.

(Romano 168-69)

De vuelta al bulín

Year: c. 1914

Lyricist: Pascual Contursi

Composer: José Martínez

1. Percanta que arrepentida
2. de tu juida
3. has vuelto al bulín,
4. con todos los despechos
5. que vos me has hecho te perdoné...
6. Cuántas veces contigo
7. y con mis amigos
8. me encurdelé;
9. y en una noche de atorro
10. en el cotorro no te encontré.

11. Te busqué por todo el cuarto,
12. imaginándome, mi vida,
13. que estuvieras escondida
14. para darme un alegrón.
15. Luego vi si del ropero
16. la ropa ya habías quitado,
17. y al ver que la habías llevado
18. lagrimeó mi corazón.

19. La carta de despedida
20. que me dejaste al irte,
21. decia que ibas a unirte
22. con quien te diera otro amor.
23. La repasé varias veces
24. no podía conformarme
25. de que fueras a amurarme
26. por otro bacán mejor.

27. Y pensé en aquellos días
28. que me decías mirándome:
29. Mi amor es sincero y puro,
30. y yo te juro que te amaré.
31. Y que al darte un abrazo
32. en tus ojazos lágrimas vi.
33. Yo no sé, vida mía
34. cómo has podido
35. engrupirme así.

(Gobello *Letras* 30-31)

Desde piba

Year: 1930

Lyricist: Francisco Alemán

Composer: Juan Bautista Guido

1. Desde piba te mostraste
2. una jermu inosegada,
3. una mina pura cancha,
4. con más ley que un coronel.
5. De la fábrica te echaron
6. por huelguista alborotada
7. y de aquel laboratorio
8. por tu clase de cuartel.
9. En las lides que tuviste
10. con la clase aburguesada,
11. siempre fuiste carta brava,
12. muy pesada de pelear;
13. y en el Monte de la Vida
14. sota linda, afortunada,
15. ligadora como nadie
16. cuando entraban a tayar.

17. Fue en un copo que ligaste
18. a ese viejo bacanazo
19. que te puso en pleno centro,
20. una sala rococó;
21. desde entonces no quisiste
22. ser la nami del mal paso
23. sino el mono con más vento,
24. que la cálida Margot.
25. Pero un día que saliste
26. pa' el suburbio retobado
27. a besar a tus viejitos
28. y llevarles que comer...
29. Por tu cara regordeta,
30. dos perlititas resbalaron
31. que te hicieron como nunca,
32. con su frío estremecer.

33. Te acordaste de tu cuna,
34. siempre humilde y coquetona,
35. y del tiempo en que luchabas
36. contra el negro capataz,
37. de esta fábrica mugrienta
38. donde eras la machona,
39. que vencía mano a mano
40. a cualquiera de un fastrás.
41. Desde entonces el suburbio,
42. que es un chorro, un scruchante,
43. con la sombra por ganzúa
44. y la luna por farol;
45. buscó el modo de spirante,
46. te afiló como buen rante
47. y en sus brazos te dormiste,
48. ¡piba linda como el sol!...

(Alemán)

Desdichas

Year: 1923

Lyricist: Pascual Contursi

Composer: Augusto A. Gentile

1. Y si ves alguna noche
2. entre risa y carcajada,
3. una triste milonguera
4. de un lujoso cabaret,
5. acordate que esa pobre
6. tiene el alma destrozada,
7. que no baila de alegría
8. y se ríe sin querer.

9. Bailá, bailá, milonguera
10. que al mundo no le importa
11. si vos llorás;
12. Bailá, bailá, milonguera,
13. porque mira el encargado
14. y te puede echar.

15. Si la ves arrinconada
16. recordando con tristeza
17. las desdichas del pasado,
18. triste fin de una pasión,
19. de seguro que en el blanco
20. mantelado de la mesa,
21. la visión de su pebete
22. la consuela en su dolor.

(Romano 50-51)

Dicen que dicen

Year: 1929

Lyricist: Alberto J. Ballestrero

Composer: Enrique Delfino

1. Vení, acercáte, no tengas miedo,
2. que tengo el puño, ya ves, anclao;
3. yo sólo quiero contarte un cuento
4. de unos amores que he balconeao...
5. Dicen que dicen, que era una mina
6. todo ternura, como eras vos,
7. que jué el orgullo de un mozo taura
8. de fondo bueno... como era yo.

9. Y bate el cuento que en un cotorro
10. que era una gloria vivían los dos.
11. Y dice el barrio que él la quería
12. con la fe misma que puse en vos.
13. Pero una noche que pa' un laburo
14. el taura manso se había ausentao,
15. prendida de otros amores perros
16. la mina aquella se le había alzado...

17. Dicen que dicen, que desde entonces
18. ardiendo de odio su corazón,
19. el taura manso buscó a la paica
20. por cielo y tierra como hice yo...
21. Y cuando quiso, justo el destino,
22. que la encontrara, como ahora a vos,
23. trenzó sus manos en el cogote
24. de aquella perra, como hago yo...

25. Deje, vecino... no llame a nadie.
26. No tenga miedo, estoy desarmao.
27. Yo sólo quise contarle un cuento;
28. pero el encono me ha traicionao...
29. Dicen que dicen, vecino, que era
30. todo ternura la que murió,
31. Que jué el orgullo de un mozo taura
32. de fondo bueno... como era yo...

(Gobello *Letras* 158-59; Romano 199-200)

Don Juan, el taita del barrio

Year: c. 1900 - 1915

Lyricist: Ricardo J. Podestá

Composer: Ernesto Ponzio

1. Yo soy el taita del barrio
2. nombrado en la Batería
3. y en la Boca cualquier día
4. no se me dice "señor".
5. Y si voy por los Patricios
6. se acobarda el más valiente
7. y estando entre mucha gente
8. me la largo... me la largo de "doctor".
9. En el tango soy tan taura
10. que cuando hago un doble corte
11. corre la voz por el Norte,
12. si es que me encuentro en el Sur.
13. Y pa' bailar la Yuyeta
14. si es que me visto a la moda
15. la gente me dice toda:
16. Dios le dé... Dios le dé vida y salud.
17. Calá, che, calá.
18. Siga el piano, che.
19. Dese cuenta usted
20. y después dirá:
21. con este taita
22. podrán por el Norte,
23. Calá che, qué corte,
24. calá, che, calá.
25. No hay teatro que no conozca
26. pues hasta soy medio artista
27. y luego tengo una vista
28. que hasta dicen que soy luz.
29. Y la forma de mi cuerpo
30. arreglada a mi vestido
31. me hace mozo muy querido,
32. lo juro, lo juro por esta cruz.
33. Yo soy el taita del barrio,
34. preguntesenlo a cualquiera,
35. No es ésta la vez primera
36. en que me han de conocer.
37. Yo vivo por San Cristóbal,
38. me llaman Don Juan Cabello,
39. anóteselo en el cuello
40. y ahí va... y ahí va si me quieren ver.
41. Calá, che, calá.
42. Siga el piano, che.
43. Dese cuenta usted
44. y después dirá:
45. con este taita
46. podrán por el Norte,
47. Calá che, qué corte,
48. calá, che, calá.

(Gobello *Letras* 31; Romano 21)

Duelo criollo

Year: 1928

Lyricist: Lito Bayardo (Manual Juan García Ferrari)

Composer: Juan Rezzano

1. Mientras la luna serena
2. baña con su luz de plata
3. como un sollozo de pena
4. se oye cantar su canción;
5. la canción dulce y sentida
6. que todo el barrio escuchaba
7. cuando el silencio reinaba
8. en el viejo caserón.

9. Cuentan que fue la piba de arrabal,
10. la flor del barrio aquel que amaba un payador.
11. Sólo para ella cantó el amor
12. al pie de su ventanal;
13. pero otro amor por aquella mujer
14. nació en el corazón del taura más mentao
15. que un farol, en duelo criollo vio,
16. bajo su débil luz, morir los dos.

17. Por eso gime en las noches
18. de tan silenciosa calma
19. esa canción que es el broche
20. de aquel amor que pasó...
21. De pena la linda piba
22. abrió bien anchas sus alas
23. y con su virtud y sus galas
24. hasta el cielo se voló.

(Gobello *Letras* 139; Romano 142-143)

El cafiso

Year: c. 1918

Lyricist: Florencio Iriarte

Composer: Juan Canavesi

1. Ya me tiene más robreca
2. que canfli sin ventolina
3. y palpito que la mina
4. la liga por la buseca.
5. Ahura la va de jaqueca
6. y no cai por el bulín,
7. pero yo he junao que al fin
8. ha engrupido a un bacanazo
9. y me arranya el esquinazo
10. porque me ve fullerín.

11. Y me bate el de la zurda,
12. tocándome el amor propio,
13. que me quiere dar el opio
14. con un bacán a la gurda,
15. pero si me pongo en curda
16. la rafa será completa
17. que aunque me apañe la yeta
18. yo con grupos no la voy
19. y ya verá que no soy
20. un guiso a la vinagreta.

21. Se ha creído la rantifusa
22. con humos de gran bacana
23. que por temor a la cana
24. no va a ligar la marrusa.
25. Pa' mi es poco la canusa
26. y el código es un fideo;
27. una vez que me cabreo
28. la más turra marca el paso,
29. sobre todo en este caso
30. que definiendo el morfeteo.

(Gobello *Letras* 48-49)

El ciruja

Year: 1926

Lyricist: Francisco Alfredo Marino

Composer: Ernesto de la Cruz

1. Como con bronca, y junando
2. de rabo de ojo a un costao,
3. sus pasos ha encaminado
4. derecho pa'l arrabal.
5. Lo lleva el presentimiento
6. de que, en aquel potrerito,
7. no existe ya el bulincito
8. que fue su único ideal.

9. Recordaba aquellas horas de garufa
10. cuando minga de laburo se pasaba,
11. meta punga, al codillo escolaseaba
12. y en los burros se ligaba un metejón;
13. cuando no era tan junado por los tiras,
14. la lanceaba sin tener el manyamiento,
15. una mina le solfeaba todo el vento
16. y jugó con su pasión.

17. Era un mosaico diquero
18. que yugaba de quemera,
19. hija de una curandera,
20. mechera de profesión;
21. pero vivía engrupida
22. de un cafiolo vidalita
23. y le pasaba la guita
24. que le sacaba al matón.

25. Frente a frente, dando muestras de coraje,
26. los dos guapos se trenzaron en el bajo,
27. y el ciruja, que era listo para el tajo,
28. al cafiolo le cobró caro su amor...
29. Hoy, ya libre 'e la gayola y sin la mina,
30. campaneando un cacho 'e sol en la vedera,
31. piensa un rato en el amor de la quemera
32. y solloza en su dolor.

(Gobello *Letras* 102-03; Romano 98-99)

El cornetín del tranvía

Year: 1937

Lyricist: Armando Juan Tagini

Composer: Oscar Arona

1. La clarinada rompió la siesta
2. en la barriada de los Corrales
3. y con zumbón frufrú de percales
4. más de una china salió al umbral...
5. Llegaba "el Loco de Recoleta"
6. sembrando alardes de su corneta
7. y su paso era, en la quieta ciudad
8. fiesta de curiosidad.

9. Así cruzaba el tranvía
10. la Buenos Aires baldía
11. de los románticos días.
12. Surgiendo desde el olvido
13. de nuevo llega al oído
14. el toque de aquel clarín...
15. Pinta criolla de cochero,
16. verseador, dicharachero...
17. Hoy vuelve del novecientos,
18. jinete en los cuatro vientos
19. al son de su cornetín...

20. Junto a una reja de Cinco Esquinas
21. desgrana un aire de vidalita:
22. su corazón ansioso palpita
23. frente a la dueña de su pasión.
24. Un "Buenas tardes..." brinda a la moza
25. que lo devuelve con una rosa
26. y el cochero echa a volar
27. su emoción
28. en un toque de atención...

(Gobello *Letras* 219-20)

El criollo más criollo

Year: 1911

Lyricist: Ángel Gregorio Villoldo

Composer: Ángel Gregorio Villoldo

1. Aquí tienen el criollo más criollo,
2. el que hasta aura ha encontrado rival
3. el chinito más pierna y compadre
4. que ha pisado por la capital.
5. Si hay un turro que sepa hamacarse
6. que se venga lo voy a esperar
7. para hacer unas cuantas quebradas
8. de este lindo tanguito al compás.

9. Así podremos ver cuál es más taura,
10. a la voz de aura,
11. para bailar.

12. Moviendo nuestros cuerpos cual resortes,
13. dos o tres cortes
14. vamos a dar.

15. ¿Dónde están esos turros gritones
16. que de taitas a veces las dan
17. y que quieren llevarse la palma,
18. porque dicen que saben bailar?
19. No dirán de que es pura parada
20. y sin plata la vengo a copar;
21. pa' ganarme tendrán que hamacarse,
22. y de arriba no la han de llevar.

23. Y vean, pues, señores, que no miento,
24. y que no es cuento
25. lo que formé.

26. Pa' cortes y quebradas no hay ninguno
27. por más toruno
28. que me la dé.

(Rivadeneira 47; Villoldo "El criollo")

El cuarteador

Year: 1942

Lyricist: Enrique Cadícamo

Composer: Enrique Cadícamo (pseudonym: Rosendo Luna)

1. Yo soy Prudencio Navarro,
2. el cuarteador de Barracas.
3. Tengo un pingo que en el barro
4. cualquier carro
5. tira y saca.
6. Overo de anca partida,
7. que en un trabajo de cuarta
8. de la zanja siempre aparta
9. ¡Chiche!
10. la rueda que se ha quedao.

11. Yo que tanta cuarta di,
12. yo que a todos los prendí
13. a la cincha de mi percherón,
14. hoy ,que el carro de mi amor se me encajó,
15. no hay uno que pa' mi
16. tenga un tirón.

17. En la calle del querer
18. el amor de una mujer
19. en un bache hundió mi corazón...
20. ¡Hoy, ni mi overo me saca
21. de este profundo zanjón!

22. Yo soy Prudencio Navarro,
23. el cuarteador de Barracas.
24. Cuando ve mi overo un carro
25. compadreando
26. se le atraca.

27. No hay carga que me lo achique,
28. porque mi chuzo es valiente;
29. yo lo llamo suavemente
30. ¡Chiche!
31. Y el pingo pega el tirón.

(Cadícamo "El cuarteador")

El flete

Year: 1916

Lyricist: Pascual Contursi

Composer: Vicente Greco

1. Se acabaron los pesaos,
2. patoteros y mentaos
3. de coraje y decisión.
4. Se acabaron los malos
5. de taleros y de palos,
6. fariñeras y facón.
7. Se acabaron los de faca
8. y todos la van de araca
9. cuando llega la ocasión.
10. Porque al de más copete
11. lo catan y le dan flete
12. pa' la otra población.

13. Esos taitas que tenían
14. la mujer de prepotencia,
15. la van de pura decencia
16. y no ganan pa'l bullón.
17. Nadie se hace el pata ancha
18. ni su pecho ensancha
19. de puro compadrón,
20. porque al de más copete
21. lo catan y le dan flete
22. pa' la otra población.

(Gobello *Letras* 44-45)

El gigoló (Querime ñata)

Year: 1916-1943

Lyricist: Luis Roldán

Composer: Enrique Delfino

1. Triste y taciturno el Gigoló
2. de pena muere
3. pues la ingrata que su amor llevó
4. ya no lo quiere.
5. Y recordando su ensueño de amor
6. vio con dolor
7. que aquella flor
8. que imaginario su mente forjó
9. el viento la deshojó.

10. Mujer infiel que me has dejado,
11. que mi vida has destrozado
12. y mi amor has desdeñado,
13. por qué no vuelves al nido de amor
14. que te espero con ardor
15. para olvidarnos
16. de esos sufrimientos
17. y otra vez amarnos
18. con santo fervor.
19. Sabes mi bien, que te quería
20. que eras mi única alegría,
21. mi fe, la vida mía.
22. Por qué tan mala conmigo has de ser
23. que me niegas tu querer
24. si fue un delirio... que yo te quisiera.
25. Por qué este martirio
26. me haces padecer.

27. El dolor que tiene el Gigoló
28. lo desbarata
29. y el cariño que a la ingrata dio
30. hoy ya lo mata.
31. Y al comprender que su ardiente pasión
32. fue una ilusión
33. del corazón
34. con infinita amargura se oyó
35. la queja del Gigoló.

(Roldán "El gigoló")

El huracán

Year: c. 1930

Lyricist: Nolo López

Composer: Osvaldo and Edgardo Donato

1. El huracán desrraigó con crueldad
2. el rosal que planté en el jardín
3. de mi amor que cuidé con afán
4. y, al nacer una flor, la traición
5. le cortó sin piedad su raíz
6. y el rosal nunca más floreció.
7. Como al rosal mi ilusión la mató
8. un amor de mujer que mintió.
9. Cristo soy con mi cruz al andar,
10. compasión solo doy al pasar.
11. Vendaval que arrasó mi querer,
12. huracán transformao en mujer.

13. Fueron sus caricias
14. llenas de mal y traición,
15. labios que mintieron despiadados
16. y al besar su falsa boca
17. se me helaba el corazón.
18. Ilusión que se fue,
19. amor que mató.
20. Una mala mujer que lleva
21. el veneno escondido
22. en su negro corazón.

23. Te perdoné porque odiar yo no sé,
24. ni rencor para ti guardaré
25. sólo sé que su mal derrumbó
26. el Edén que hilvané con fervor,
27. luz de amor que jamás volverá
28. a alumbrar a mi fiel corazón.
29. Vago sin fe con mi cruz de dolor,
30. hoy vivir para mí es crueldad
31. juventud que le di sin dudar
32. y jugó sin piedad con mi amor.
33. Vendaval que arrasó mi querer,
34. huracán transformao en mujer.

(N. López)

El malevo

Year: 1928

Lyricist: María Luisa Carnelli (pseudonym: Mario Castro)

Composer: Julio de Caro

1. Sos un malevo sin lengue,
2. sin pinta ni compadrada,
3. sin melena recortada,
4. sin milonga y sin canyengue.
5. Al elemento bacán batiste reo chamuyo...
6. ¡Lindo parlamento el tuyo
7. pa volcarlo en un gotán!

8. Entre guapos de acción, copaste la cabán.
9. Te sobra corazón: sos un orre pur-sang.
10. Perdoná el berretín, hermano... ¡Qué querés!
11. Me ha dado el ventolín de batir que valés...
12. Lo tengo que decir: muñeca pa tallar
13. y labia pa engrupir nunca te va a faltar,
14. porque sos el mejor reo de la ciudad,
15. canchero, arrastrador... ¡Te sobra autoridad!

16. Con tu silhueta bacana
17. diste notas de colores
18. en tenidas y milongas
19. con sonido 'e bandoneones
20. y te gustó el entrevero...
21. Fuiste siempre bien entero
22. como verso de payada
23. y fragancia de gotán.

(Gobello *Letras* 141)

El motivo (Pobre paica)

Year: c. 1914

Lyricist: Pascual Contursi

Composer: Juan Carlos Cobián

1. Mina que fue en otro tiempo
2. la más papa milonguera
3. y en esas noches tangueras
4. fue la reina del festín...
5. Hoy no tiene pa' ponerse
6. ni zapatos ni vestidos,
7. anda enferma y el amigo
8. no aportó para el bulín.

9. Ya no tienen sus ojazos
10. esos fuertes resplandores
11. y en su cara los colores
12. se le ven palidecer.
13. Está enferma, sufre y llora
14. y manya con sentimiento
15. de que así, enferma y sin vento
16. más naides la va a querer.

17. Pobre paica que ha tenido
18. a la gente rechiflada
19. y supo con la mirada
20. conquistar una pasión...
21. Hoy no tiene quien se arrime
22. por cariño a su catrera.
23. ¡Pobre paica arrabalera
24. que quedó sin corazón!

25. Y cuando de los bandoneones
26. se oyen las notas de un tango,
27. pobre florcita de fango
28. siente en su alma vibrar
29. las nostalgias de otros tiempos
30. de placeres y de amores,
31. ¡hoy sólo son sinsabores
32. que la invitan a llorar!

(Gobello *Letras* 37-38; Romano 37-38)

El otario³²⁴

Year: c. 1950

Lyricist: Juan Miguel Velich

Composer: Gerardo Metallo

1. Al compás
2. Del criollo tango, que “El otario” bauticé,
3. La gran respuesta de un querer
4. Alegró las ansias mías.
5. Tango ideal
6. Que hoy, como entonces, llena el alma de emoción,
7. Porque este tango fue el testigo
8. De mi febril rogar de amor.

9. Recuerdos imborrables de un idilio
10. Que empezó una tarde hermosa
11. Bajo el fresco de un parral.
12. En donde el tango de mi gran amor
13. Matizaba al sueño dulce
14. De mi lírico pensar...
15. Recuerdos imborrables que he vivido
16. Con el tango, que de firme
17. Con mi anhelo suspiró.
18. Y con el tango del romance lindo
19. Gime la añoranza fiel
20. De gloriosa tradición.

21. Al vibrar
22. Del noble tango, que mil veces lo bailé,
23. Palpitan sueños de un edén
24. Que en mi corazón se abriga.
25. Y en la paz
26. De los arrullos invariables del sentir,
27. Dispersa el tango su armonía
28. Con su cantar de amor feliz.

(Sibilin)

³²⁴ NB: This lyric was not included in the corpus but was mentioned in the thesis for illustrative purposes.

El Porteño

Year: 1903

Lyricist: Ángel Gregorio Villoldo

Composer: Ángel Gregorio Villoldo

1. Soy hijo de Buenos Aires,
2. por apodo "El Porteño",
3. el criollo más compadrito
4. que en esta tierra nació.
5. Cuando un tango en la vigüela
6. rasguea algún compañero
7. no hay nadie en el mundo entero
8. que baile mejor que yo.

9. No hay ninguno que me iguale
10. para enamorar mujeres,
11. puro hablar de pareceres,
12. puro filo/pico y nada más.
13. Y al hacerle la encarada
14. la fileo de cuerpo entero
15. asegurando el puchero
16. con el vento que dará.

17. Soy el terror del malevaje
18. cuando en un baile me meto,
19. porque a ninguno respeto
20. de los que hay en la reunión.
21. Y si alguno se retoba
22. queriendo meterse a guapo
23. yo le encajo un castañazo
24. y a buscar quien lo engendró.

25. Cuando el vento ya escasea
26. le formo un cuento a mi china
27. que es la paica más ladina
28. que pisó el barrio del sur.
29. Y como caído del cielo
30. entra el níquel al bolsillo
31. y al compás de un organillo
32. bailo el tango a su salú.

(Gobello *Letras* 19-20; Romano 22-23)

El rey del cabaret

Year: 1923

Lyricist: Manuel Romero

Composer: Enrique Delfino

1. Era un mozo bacán y arrogante,
2. bien peinado al Coty y con gomina,
3. por el cual se trenzaban las minas
4. mendigando una frase de amor.
5. Le llamaban rey de la milonga
6. y mujer que pasó por su lado
7. en sus brazos de niño mimado
8. sin esfuerzo ninguno cayó.

9. Rey del cabaret,
10. rey sin corazón:
11. las mujeres te perdieron
12. con su torpe adoración.
13. Rey del cabaret,
14. vivís sin amor
15. y por tu alma pasa siempre
16. una sombra de dolor.

17. Pero al fin se cruzó en su camino
18. una paica de gran entereza,
19. a quien no dominó su belleza
20. y esa fue la que a todas vengó.
21. El calor de la marca de fuego
22. transformó su capricho en cariño
23. y aquel taita lloró como un niño,
24. mendigando una frase de amor.

25. Rey del cabaret,
26. ¡cómo la querés!
27. ¿A qué andás disimulando
28. si olvidarla no podés?
29. Rey del cabaret,
30. sufrís por amor
31. y hoy sentís en tu alma herida
32. los pinchazos del dolor.

(Romero "El rey")

El taita

Year: 1907

Lyricist: Silverio Manco

Composer: Alfredo Gobbi (padre)

1. Soy el taita de Barracas,
2. de aceitada melenita
3. y francesa planchadita
4. cuando me quiero lucir.
5. Si me topan me defiendo
6. con mi larga fariñela
7. y me lo dejo al pamele
8. como carne de embutir.
9. Y si se trata
10. de alguna mina,
11. la meneguina
12. me hago ligar.
13. Y si resiste
14. en aflojar,
15. con cachetiarla
16. me la va a dar.
17. Si tratan de convencerme
18. tiempo al ñudo perderán,
19. pues yo voy donde las dan
20. porque soy el más tigrero.
21. Soy amante de trifulcas
22. que me arman en los fondines,
23. pero son los meneguines
24. que me ponen altanero.
25. Se llama Elvira
26. la paica mía
27. y día a día
28. da lindo espor,
29. y yo me paso
30. calaveriando
31. y desechando
32. mi sinsabor.
33. Soy el taita más ladino,
34. fachinero y compadrito.
35. Soy el rubio Francisquito
36. de chambergos y un plastón.
37. Soy cantor y no reculo
38. ni me achico al más pesado,
39. porque siempre yo he peleado
40. con el tipo mas malón.
41. También he sido
42. un habitante
43. fiel y constante
44. de la prisión,
45. porque soy taita
46. de las camadas
47. y doy trompadas
48. a discreción.
49. Ni aunque venga una partida
50. de cincuenta chaferolas
51. con las negras cacerolas
52. y el machete a relucir
53. no me entrego si no dejo
54. unos cuantos pataleando,
55. y otros dejarlos zumbando
56. que por fuerza han de morir.
57. Yo de natura
58. soy muy nervioso
59. y laborioso
60. para escabiar.
61. Siendo de arriba
62. me gusta mucho.
63. Me tienen chucho
64. para peliar.

(Cont.)

(El taita, cont.)

65. Si alguna vez en la calle
66. algún tipo me provoca,
67. le digo: Yo no soy Roca;
68. soy Francisquito el cantor.
69. Si quiere peliar conmigo
70. me lo llevo a la cortada
71. y le doy una trompada
72. de truco, retruco y flor.

73. Y si protesta,
74. con otro viento
75. todo el tormento
76. le hago pasar,
77. porque soy taita
78. de los morrudos
79. y a todos mudos
80. hago quedar.

(Romano 26-28)

El Taita del Arrabal

Year: 1922

Lyricist: Luis Bayón Herrera y Manuel Romero

Composer: José Padilla

1. Era un malevo buen mozo
2. de melena recortada;
3. las minas le cortejaban
4. pero él las trataba mal.
5. Era altivo y le llamaban
6. el Taita del Arrabal.

7. Pero un día la milonga
8. lo arrastró para perderlo:
9. usó corbatita y cuello,
10. se emborrachó con perno,
11. y hasta el tango arrabalero
12. a la francesa bailó.

13. La linda vida antigua
14. por otra abandonó
15. y cuando acordarse quiso
16. perdido se encontró.

17. Pobre taita, muchas noches,
18. bien dopado de morfina,
19. atorraba en una esquina
20. campaniao por un botón.
21. y el que antes daba envidia
22. ahora daba compasión.

23. Hasta que al salir de un baile,
24. después de una champagnada,
25. la mujer que acompañaba
26. con un taura se encontró.
27. Relucieron los bufosos
28. y el pobre taita cayó.
29. Y así, una noche oscura,
30. tuvo un triste final
31. aquel a quien le llamaban
32. el Taita del Arrabal.

(Gobello *Letras* 60-61)

El torito

Year: c. 1910

Lyricist: Ángel Gregorio Villoldo

Composer: Ángel Gregorio Villoldo

1. Aquí tienen a El Torito,
2. el criollo más compadrito
3. que ha pisao la población.
4. Donde quiera me hago ver
5. cuando llega la ocasión.
6. Pa' la danza soy ladino,
7. y en cualquier baile argentino
8. donde yo me he presentao,
9. al mozo más bailarín
10. he dejao acobardao.

11. Cuando hago una sentadita
12. de aquéllas que yo sé hacer,
13. es el disloque, señores,
14. pues me tengo mucha fe.
15. Mi cuerpo es como un resorte
16. cuando me pongo a bailar,
17. y en todas partes el premio
18. a la fija sé ganar.

19. Yo tengo una morochita
20. que es muy pierna y comadrita
21. en el arte de bailar,
22. y todavía no halló
23. quién la pueda aventajar.
24. Todo el mundo nos alaba
25. y somos la yunta brava
26. conocida por aquí,
27. y nadie se presentó
28. que nos pueda competir.

29. En los bailes nacionales
30. nadie nos puede igualar,
31. pues yo y mi prenda formamos
32. La pareja sin rival.
33. Lo mismo bailamos tango
34. que gato con relación,
35. la zamacueca, el cielito,
36. la huella y el pericón.

(Gobello *Letras* 26-27)

Enfundá la mandolina

Year: 1930

Lyricist: Horacio Zuería Mansilla

Composer: Francisco Pracánico

1. Sosegate que ya es tiempo de archivar tus ilusiones,
2. dedícate a balnearla que pa' vos ya se acabó
3. y es muy triste eso de verte esperando a la fulana
4. con la pinta de un mateo desalquilado y tristón.
5. No hay que hacerle, ya estás viejo, se acabaron los programas
6. y hacés gracia con tus locos berretines de gavión.
7. Ni te miran las muchachas y si alguna a vos te habla
8. es pa' pedirte un consejo de baqueano en el amor.

9. Qué querés, Cipriano,
10. ya no das más jugo.
11. Son cincuenta abriles
12. que encima llevás.
13. Junto con el pelo
14. que fugó del mate
15. se te fue la pinta
16. que no vuelve más.

17. Dejá las pebetas
18. para los muchachos,
19. esos platos fuertes
20. no son para vos.
21. Piantá del sereno,
22. andate a la cama
23. que después, mañana,
24. andás con la tos.

25. Enfundá la mandolina, ya no estás pa'serenatas,
26. te aconseja la chirusa que tenés en el bulín,
27. dibujándote en la boca la atrevida cruz pagana
28. con la punta perfumada de su lápiz de carmín...
29. Han caído tus acciones en la rueda de grisetes
30. y al compás del almanaque se deshoja tu ilusión,
31. y ya todo te convida pa'ganar cuartel de invierno
32. junto al fuego del recuerdo a la sombra de un rincón.

Gobello *Letras* 175-76; Romano 198-99)

Esclavas blancas

Year: 1931

Lyricist: Horacio Pettorossi

Composer: Horacio Pettorossi

1. Almitas torturadas,
2. pobres esclavas blancas del tango y la milonga.
3. Mujeres infecundas,
4. ¡autómatas del vicio, sin alma y sin amor!...
5. No sé por qué esta noche
6. reflejan tus pupilas la pena que te mata
7. y en cada carcajada,
8. yo sé, pobre milonga, solloza el corazón.
9. Tal vez tu propia culpa,
10. tal vez el desengaño
11. del hombre que has querido
12. y hoy para olvidarlo,
13. emborrachás tu alma
14. con tango y con champagne.
15. Pero pensá, milonga,
16. que hay una criaturita
17. de manecitas blancas
18. que en este mismo instante
19. tal vez a unos extraños
20. les llamará mamá...
21. No comprendés, milonga,
22. que vos pasás la vida en una farsa alegre,
23. donde se necesita,
24. para conquistar hombres, eterna juventud.
25. Pero los años pasan,
26. dejando sus recuerdos, recuerdos muy ingratos
27. y cuando vieja y fea
28. te encuentren tus ""amigos"",
29. verás qué ingratitud.
30. Yo sé que vos sos buena,
31. que escucharás este ruego
32. de este sincero amigo.
33. No sigas por la senda
34. de fáciles placeres, de tango y de champagne.
35. Pensá cinco minutos
36. en esa criaturita
37. de manecitas blancas,
38. que en este mismo instante,
39. tal vez a unos extraños, ¡les llamará mamá!

(Pettorossi)

Esta noche me emborracho

Year: 1928

Lyricist: Enrique Santos Discépolo

Composer: Enrique Santos Discépolo

1. Sola, fané, descangayada,
2. la vi esta madrugada
3. salir de un cabaret.
4. Flaca, dos cuartos de cogote
5. una percha en el escote,
6. bajo la nuez.
7. Chueca, vestida de pebeta,
8. teñida y coqueteando
9. su desnudez...
10. Parecía un gallo desplumao
11. mostrando al compadrear
12. el cuero picoteao...
13. Yo que sé cuando no aguanto más,
14. al verla, así, rajé,
15. pa' no yorar.
16. ¡Y pensar que hace diez años,
17. fue mi locura!
18. ¡Que llegué hasta la traición
19. por su hermosura!
20. Que esto que hoy es un casajo
21. fue la dulce metedura
22. donde yo perdí el honor.
23. Que chiflao por su belleza,
24. le quité el pan a la vieja,
25. me hice ruin y pechador...
26. Que quedé sin un amigo,
27. que viví de mala fe,
28. que me tuvo de rodillas,
29. sin moral, hecho un mendigo,
30. cuando se fue.
31. Nunca soñé que la vería
32. en un "requiscat in pace"
33. tan cruel como el de hoy.
34. ¡Mire, si no es pa' suicidarse
35. que por ese cachivache
36. sea lo que soy!...
37. Fiera venganza la del tiempo,
38. que le hace ver deshecho
39. lo que uno amó...
40. Este encuentro me ha hecho tanto
- mal,
41. que si lo pienso más
42. termino envenenao.
43. Esta noche me emborracho bien,
44. me mamo, ¡bien mamar!
45. pa' no pensar.

(Romano 147-148)

Farabute

Year: 1928

Lyricist: Antonio Casciani

Composer: Joaquín Barreiro

1. Farabute ilusionado por la mersa de magnates
2. que enfarolan su presencia con suntuosa posición,
3. no manyás pobre franela, que aquél que nació en un catre
4. a vivir modestamente la suerte lo condenó.
5. Sos la escoria remanyada que esgunfiás con tu presencia
6. de chitrulo sin carpeta, residuo del arrabal
7. tus hazañas de malevo al cuaderno de la ausencia
8. con el lápiz del recuerdo te las voy a enumerar.

9. Clandestino de carreras
10. a ratitos quinielero,
11. así te hacés las chirolas
12. con que a veces te empilchás.
13. En tu casa todo el año
14. a la hora del puchero,
15. enyantás de prepotencia
16. lo que nunca te ganás

17. Deschavate farabute, no naciste pa' cafishio
18. al laburo dedicate que allí está tu salvación
19. recordá tu madrecita... hace un mes en el hospicio
20. muriendo, a tus hermanitos suplicando señaló.
21. Ya que en su triste existencia como trapo la has tratado
22. ni un halago tan siquiera le supiste demostrar,
23. hoy tenés frente a la vida la misión que te ha encargado
24. que la santa desde el cielo te sabrá recompensar.

(Casciani)

Farolito viejo

Year: 1927

Lyricist: José Eneas Riu

Composer: Tuis Teisseire

1. Farolito viejo del barrio malevo,
2. broncea la esquina con pálida luz,
3. alumbró el reparto después del laburo
4. y ha sido en la noche también batitú.
5. Bajo su luz pobre la china apenada
6. del taita encanado la carta leyó,
7. mofando con llanto de buena maleva
8. los versos escritos con el corazón.

9. También en sus rayos brillaron las dagas
10. cruzadas en duelo por un mismo amor.
11. Un muerto sangraba y nadie batía
12. del taura la hombría que fue vencedor.
13. Su luz fue testigo oyendo el chamuyo
14. jugándole sucio al taita bacán,
15. la grela traidora y el chorro cobarde
16. batieron la cana por miedo al puñal.

17. Y cuando los tiras a su hombre encanaron
18. lloraba en sus ojos la luz del farol;
19. después, una piedra rompió los cristales
20. bajando al suburbio feroz maldición.
21. Farolito viejo, estoy entre rejas,
22. a mi celda oscura no llega tu luz.
23. Espero con ansias volver a la esquina
24. vengándome de ella y del batitú.

(Romano 122)

Flor de fango

Year: c. 1914

Lyricist: Pascual Contursi

Composer: Augusto Gentile

1. Mina que te manyo de hace rato,
2. perdoname si te bato
3. de que yo te vi nacer...
4. Tu cuna fue un conventillo
5. alumbrado a querosén.
6. Justo a los catorce abriles
7. te entregastes a la farra,
8. las delicias del gotán....
9. Te gustaban las alhajas,
10. los vestidos a la moda
11. y las farras de champán.

12. Anduviste pelechado,
13. de sirvienta acompañada
14. pa' pasar por niña bien,
15. y de muchas envidiada
16. porque llevabas buen tren.
17. Y te hiciste chocadora,
18. luego fuiste la señora
19. de un comerciante mishé
20. que lo dejaste arruinado,
21. sin el vento y amurado
22. en la puerta de un café.

23. Después fuiste la amiguita
24. de un viejito boticario
25. y el hijo de un comisario
26. todo el vento te chacó;
27. empezó tu decadencia,
28. las alhajas amuraste
29. y un bulincito alquilaste
30. en una casa'e pensión.
31. Te hiciste tonadillera,
32. pasaste ratos extraños
33. y a fuerza de desengaños
34. quedaste sin corazón.

35. Fue tu vida como un lirio
36. de congojas y martirios;
37. sólo un peso te agobió;
38. no tenías en el mundo
39. ni un cariño ni un consuelo,
40. El amor de tu madre te faltó.
41. Fuiste papusa del fango
42. y las delicias de un tango
43. te arrastraron del bulín;
44. los amigos te engrupieron
45. y ellos mismos te perdieron
46. noche a noche en el festín.

47. Mina que te manyo de hace rato,
48. perdoname si te bato de que yo te
vi nacer...
49. Tu cuna fue un conventillo
50. alumbrado a querosén.
51. Justo a los catorce abriles
52. te entregastes a las farras
53. las delicias de un gotán...
54. Te gustaban las alhajas,
55. los vestidos a la moda
56. y las farras de champán.

(Gobello *Letras*, 34-35; Romano 32-33)

Florida del arrabal

Year: 1928

Lyricist: Francisco Rimoli (pseudonym: Dante A. Linyera)

Composer: Ricardo Luis Brignolo

1. Barrio de hacha y tiza, papuso, canyengue,
2. ande tuvo cuna la nueva emoción,
3. ande el alma rea sigue usando lengue
4. y el tango se tuerce como un bandoneón.

5. Barrio pinturero y cancha'e poetas,
6. ande los muchachos son como una flor,
7. ande se arremangan las lindas pebetas
8. que tienen los ojos en curda de amor.

9. Boedo, Boedo,
10. la calle de todos,
11. la alegre Florida
12. del triste arrabal,
13. decile muy quedo,
14. decile a la piba
15. romántica y papa
16. que ya va a llegar.

17. Batile que espere soñando y alerta,
18. que sólo es un tango la loca ilusión,
19. que pronto el garabo se irá hasta la puerta
20. torciendo su pinta como un bandoneón.

21. Y entonces, Boedo papuso, canyengue,
22. al ritmo rasposo de un dulce gotán,
23. verá a una pebeta que agita su lengue
24. cuando se despide de su gavlán.

(Romano 146-47)

Fosforerita

Year: 1925

Lyricist: Amaro Guira

Composer: Bartolomé Chapela

1. Fosforeras, fosforeras,
2. palomitas en bandadas
3. que encontré en las madrugadas
4. de mi loca juventud.
5. Escuchando los piropos
6. de patotas embriagadas
7. que en alegres carcajadas
8. ofendieron su virtud.

9. Obreritas de mi pueblo,
10. tan alegres, tan bonitas
11. que encontré en las mañanitas
12. cuando el sol iba a llegar.
13. Hoy las miro con respeto
14. y bendigo aquellas manos
15. que era el pan de sus hermanos
16. y alegría de un hogar.

17. No piensen nunca en las sedas,
18. ni perturben sus sentidos,
19. los carmines y vestidos
20. que serán su perdición.
21. Y esperen siempre que un día
22. las patotas embriagadas
23. callarán sus risotadas
24. y les pedirán perdón.

25. Ay, Obreritas de mi pueblo,
26. tan alegres, tan bonitas
27. que encontré en las mañanitas
28. cuando el sol iba a llegar.

29. Hoy las miro con respeto
30. y bendigo aquellas manos
31. que era el pan de sus hermanos
32. y alegría de un hogar.

33. Fosforeras, fosforeras,
34. las llevo en el corazón.

(Guira)

Garabita

Year: 1926

Lyricist: Pascual Contursi

Composer: Bernardino Terés

1. Garabita... Garabita...
2. La pebeta que has andado
3. pisoteando el pasto sucio
4. del arroyo Maldonado;
5. contemplando el agua mansa,
6. muchas veces has pensado
7. en tu vieja la finada
8. y en tu viejo curdelón.

9. Garabita... Garabita...
10. ¡Cuántas noches has soñado
11. con un lindo traje nuevo
12. con adornos de astracán!
13. En pintarte las ojeras
14. y los labios colorados
15. pa' correr con los muchachos
16. esas farras de champán.

17. Garabita... Garabita...
18. Has nacido pa'l arroyo;
19. preferís las zapatillas,
20. las miserias y el dolor,
21. que haya un reo que te quiera
22. y te hable a lo criollo
23. y, si un día llega el caso,
24. que se juegue por tu amor.

(Gobello *Letras* 103-104)

Garufa

Year: 1928

Lyricist: Roberto Fontaina- U y Victor Soliño

Composer: J.A. Collazo

Del barrio La Mondiola sos el más rana
y te llaman Garufa por lo bacán.
Tenés más pretensiones que bataclana
que hubiera hecho suceso con un gotán.
Durante la semana, meta laburo,
y el sábado a la noche sos un dotor.
Te encajás las polainas y el cuello duro
y te venís p'al centro de rompedor.

¡Garufa!,
pucha que sos divertido.
¡Garufa!,
ya sos un caso perdido.
Tu vieja
dice que sos un bandido
porque supo que te vieron
la otra noche
en el Parque Japonés.

Caés a la milonga en cuanto empieza
y sos para las minas el vareador.
Sos capaz de bailarte la Marsellesa,
la Marcha'e Garibaldi y El Trovador.
Con un café con leche y una ensaimada
rematás esas noches de bacanal,
y al volverte a tu casa, de madrugada,
decís: "Yo soy un rana fenomenal".

(Romano 141-42)

Gricel

Year: 1942

Lyricist: José María Contursi

Composer: Mariano Mores

1. No debí pensar jamás
2. en lograr tu corazón
3. y sin embargo te busqué
4. hasta que un día te encontré
5. y con mis besos te aturdí
6. sin importarme que eras buena...
7. Tu ilusión fue de cristal,
8. se rompió cuando partí
9. pues nunca, nunca más volví...
10. ¡Qué amarga fue tu pena!

11. No te olvides de mí,
12. de tu Gricel,
13. me dijiste al besar
14. el Cristo aquel
15. y hoy que vivo enloquecido
16. porque no te olvidé
17. ni te acuerdas de mí...
18. ¡Gricel! ¡Gricel!

19. Me faltó después tu voz
20. y el calor de tu mirar
21. y como un loco te busqué
22. pero ya nunca te encontré
23. y en otros besos me aturdí...
24. ¡Mi vida toda fue un engaño!
25. ¿Qué será, Gricel, de mí?
26. Se cumplió la ley de Dios
27. porque sus culpas ya pagó
28. quien te hizo tanto daño.

(Gobello *Letras* 236-37; Romano 310-11)

Griseta

Year: 1924

Lyricist: José González Castillo

Composer: Enrique Delfino

1. Mezcla rara de Museta y de Mimí,
2. con caricias de Rodolfo y de Schaunard.
3. Era la flor de París,
4. que un sueño de novela trajo al arrabal;
5. y en el loco divagar del cabaret
6. al arrullo de algún tango compadrón
7. alentaba una ilusión,
8. soñaba con Des Grieux,
9. quería ser Manon.

10. Francesita...
11. que trajiste pizpireta,
12. sentimental y coqueta
13. la poesía del Quartier...
14. Quién diría
15. que tu poema de Griseta
16. sólo una estrofa tendría,
17. la silenciosa agonía
18. de Margarita Gauthier...

19. Mas la fría sordidez del arrabal
20. agostando la pureza de su fe,
21. sin hallar a su Duval,
22. secó su corazón lo mismo que un muguet...
23. Y una noche de champán y de cocó,
24. al arrullo funeral de un bandoneón,
25. pobrecita se durmió,
26. lo mismo que Mimí,
27. lo mismo que Manón.

(Gobello *Letras* 76; Romano 65-66)

Haragán

Year: 1928

Lyricist: Manuel Romero y José Luis Bayón Herrera

Composer: Enrique Delfino

1. La pucha que sos reo
2. y enemigo de yugarla,
3. La esquena se te frunce
4. si tenés que laburarla.
5. Del orre batallón
6. vos sos el capitán,
7. vos creés que naciste
8. pa' ser un sultán.
9. Te gusta meditarla
10. panza arriba, en la catrera
11. y oír la campanada
12. del reló de Balvanera.
13. Salí de tu letargo,
14. Ganate tu pan,
15. Si no, yo te largo;
16. sos muy haragán.
17. Haragán,
18. si encontrás al inventor del laburo,
lo fajás;
19. haragán,
20. si seguís en ese tren yo te amuro;
21. Cachafaz
22. Grandulón,
23. prototipo de atorrante robusto,
24. gran bacán,
25. despertá
26. si dormido estás, pedazo de
haragán.
27. El día del casorio
28. dijo el tipo'e la sotana:
29. "El coso debe siempre
30. mantener a su fulana".
31. Y vos interpretás
32. las cosas al revés,
33. que yo te mantenga
34. es lo que querés.
35. Al campo a cachar giles,
36. que el amor no da pa' tanto,
37. a ver si se entrevera
38. porque yo ya no lo aguanto...
39. Si en tren de cara rota
40. pensás continuar,
41. "Primero de Mayo"
42. te van a llamar.

(Romano 153-54)

Ivette

Year: c. 1914

Lyricist: Pascual Contursi

Composer: José Martínez

1. En la puerta de un boliche
2. un bacán encurdelado,
3. recordando su pasado
4. que una mina lo amuró,
5. entre los humos de caña
6. retornan a su memoria
7. esas páginas de historia
8. que su corazón grabó.
9. Bulín que ya no te veo,
10. catrera que ya no te toco,
11. percanta que ya no embroco
12. porque con otro se fue.
13. Mina que fuiste el encanto
14. de toda la muchachada
15. y que por una pavada
16. te acoplaste a un mishé...
17. Qué te ha de dar ese otario
18. que tu viejo no te ha dado,
19. ¿No te acordás que he robado
20. pa' que no falte el bullón?
21. ¿No te acordás cuando en cana
22. te mandaba en cuadernitos
23. aquellos lindos versitos
24. nacidos del corazón?
25. ¿No te acordás que conmigo
26. te pusiste un sombrero
27. y aquel cinturón de cuero
28. que a otra mina le chaqué?
29. ¿No te traje pa' tu santo
30. un par de zarzos de bute
31. que una noche a un farabute
32. del cotorro le pianté...?
33. Y con ellos unas botas
34. con las cañas de gamuza
35. y una pollera papusa
36. hecha de seda crepé...
37. ¿No te acordás que traía
38. aquella crema 'e lechuga
39. que hasta la última verruga
40. de la cara te pianté?
41. Y aquellos polvos rosados
42. que aumentaban tus colores?...
43. Recordando sus amores
44. el pobre bacán lloró.

(Gobello *Letras* 35-36; Romano 40-42)

Julián

Year: 1924

Lyricist: José Luis Panizza

Composer: Edgardo Donato

1. Yo tenía un amorcito
2. que me dejó abandonada
3. y en mis horas de tristeza
4. lo recuerdo con el alma.
5. Era un tigre para el tango
6. y envidia del cabaret,
7. pero un día traicionero
8. tras de otra se me fue.

9. ¿Por qué me dejaste,
10. mi lindo Julián?
11. Tu nena se muere
12. de pena y afán.
13. En aquel cuartito
14. nadie más entró
15. y paso las noches
16. llorando tu amor.

17. Amor que fingiste
18. hasta que caí.
19. Con besos me hiciste
20. llorar y reír;
21. y desde aquel día,
22. mi lindo Julián,
23. no tengo alegría,
24. me muero de afán.

25. Negro,
26. cómo extraño tus caricias,
27. tus mimos y tus sonrisas
28. Dame de nuevo tu corazón
29. y he de pagarte contenta
30. con mil besos de perdón.

31. Negro, yo nunca podré olvidarte
32. y siempre sabré esperarte.
33. Piensa en el nido abandonado,
34. un corazón destrozado
35. sólo puede perdonar.

36. Yo tenía un amorcito
37. que era envidia del Pigall,
38. Era un tigre para el tango
39. y se llamaba Julián.
40. Pero un día, entusiasmado
41. por una loca ilusión,
42. dejó el nido abandonado
43. destrozó mi corazón.

(Gobello *Letras* 77-78; Romano 53-54)

Justicia criolla 1897

Year: 1897

Lyricist: Ezequiel Soria

Composer: Antonio Reynoso

1. Era un domingo de carnaval
2. y al "Pasatiempo" fui a bailar.
3. Hablé a la Juana para un chotis
4. y a enamorarla me decidí.
5. En sus oídos me lamenté,
6. me puse tierno y tango hablé
7. que la muchacha se conmovió
8. con mil promesas de eterno amor.

9. Hablé a la mina de mi valor
10. y que soy hombre de largo por;
11. cuando el estrilo quiera agarrar,
12. vos, mi Juanita, me has de calmar.
13. Y ella callaba y entonces yo
14. hice prodigios de ilustración;
15. luego, en un tango, che, me pasé
16. y a puro corte la conquisté.

(Gobello *Letras* 19)

Justicia criolla (1925)

Year:

Lyricist: Francisco Brancatti

Composer: Rafael Iriarte

1. ¿Han venido a prenderme? Ya estoy listo.
2. La cárcel a los hombres no hace mal.
3. ¡Aquí me tienen! ¡Yo no me resisto!
4. ¡Estoy vengado! ¡Soy el criminal!
5. ¡Al fin pude ahogar mis hondas penas!
6. ¡Qué importa de las otras que vendrán!
7. Yo no he de lamentar mis horas buenas,
8. las malas, como vienen ya se irán.

9. Antes, permitan que estampe,
10. un beso a mi pobre hijita;
11. que ha quedado huerfanita,
12. en el seno del hogar.
13. ¡Venga un abrazo, mi nena!,
14. quédese con la vecina;
15. su padre va hasta la esquina,
16. prontito ha de regresar.

17. ¡Vamos, pronto, oficial! ¡Y no se asombre,
18. del llanto que en mis ojos usted ve!
19. ¡He dicho que la cárcel es para el hombre,
20. y allá voy, aunque en ella moriré!...
21. ¡Es que pienso en este ángel que yo dejo
22. y mis lágrimas vierto sin querer!...
23. Por lo demás, yo digo, mi pellejo
24. bien sé poco y nada ha de valer.

25. ¡Mañana, cuando ella moza,
26. sepa el final de la madre
27. que no piense que fue el padre,
28. un borracho, un criminal!
29. Díganle que yo la he muerto,
30. porque fue una libertina:
31. ¡haga el favor, mi vecina!
32. ¡Vamos, señor oficial!

(Brancatti)

La biaba de un beso

Year: 1930

Lyricist: Enrique Cadícamo and Félix Manuel Pelayo

Composer: Pedro Maffia

1. El suburbio rante la vio florecer
2. entre los piropos del garabitaje,
3. y así entre suspiros, la flor del reaje
4. una tarde de esas se sintió mujer.
5. Un muchacho humilde y trabajador
6. le volcó un chamuyo bajito y galante
7. y con el milagro de una consonante
8. brotó una armoniosa milonga de amor.

9. La biaba de un beso
10. les pintó el paisaje,
11. de su porvenir
12. bajo las tranquilas
13. estrellas del barrio.
14. Se enhebró un rosario
15. con cuentas de amor.
16. Tejiendo un idilio,
17. forjando un romance
18. la tierna pareja
19. un cielo soñó.
20. La biaba de un beso
21. después de arrullarlos
22. les dio su dolor.

23. Ni fue la ganzúa, ni fue el palanquín
24. de un taura malevo que la pretendía,
25. lo que abrió a la piba del que la quería
26. sino fue un trabajo miserable y ruin.
27. Pero cuando talla fuerte el corazón
28. inútil es toda la treta que se use.
29. La piedra, si es fina, brillando se luce
30. y triunfa el cariño si encuentra ilusión.

(Gobello *Letras* 177-78)

La copa del olvido

Year: 1921

Lyricist: Alberto Vacarezza

Composer: Enrique Delfino

1. ¡Mozo! Traiga otra copa
2. y sírvase de algo el que quiera tomar,
3. que ando muy solo y estoy muy triste
4. desde que supe la cruel verdad.
5. ¡Mozo! Traiga otra copa
6. que anoche, juntos, los vi a los dos...
7. Quise vengarme, matarla quise,
8. pero un impulso me serenó.

9. Salí a la calle desconcertado,
10. sin saber cómo hasta aquí llegué
11. a preguntar a los hombres sabios,
12. a preguntarles qué debo hacer...
13. Olvide, amigo—dirán algunos—,
14. pero olvidarla no puede ser...
15. Y si la mato, vivir sin ella,
16. vivir sin ella nunca podré.

17. ¡Mozo! Traiga otra copa
18. y sírvase de algo el que quiera tomar...
19. Quiero alegrarme con este vino
20. a ver si el vino me hace olvidar.
21. ¡Mozo! Traiga otra copa
22. y sírvase de algo el que quiera tomar.

(Gobello *Letras* 57-58; Romano 44-45)

La cumparsita (Matos Rodríguez)

Year: 1925

Lyricist: Gerardo H. Matos Rodríguez

Composer: Gerardo H. Matos Rodríguez

1. La Cumparsa
2. de miserias sin fin
3. desfila,
4. en torno de aquel ser
5. enfermo
6. que pronto ha de morir
7. de pena.
8. Por eso es que en su lecho
9. solloza acongojado,
10. recordando el pasado
11. que lo hace padecer.
12. Abandonó a su viejita
13. que quedó desamparada
14. y loco de pasión,
15. ciego de amor,
16. corrió
17. tras de su amada,
18. que era linda, era hechicera,
19. —de lujuria era una flor—,
20. que burló su querer
21. hasta que se cansó
22. y por otro lo dejó.
23. Largo tiempo
24. después, cayó al hogar
25. materno
26. para poder curar
27. su enfermo
28. y herido corazón
29. y supo
30. que su viejita santa,
31. la que él había dejado,
32. el invierno pasado
33. de frío se murió
34. Hoy ya solo, abandonado
35. a lo triste de su suerte,
36. amistoso espera la muerte,
37. que bien pronto ha de llegar
38. y entre la triste frialdad
39. que lenta invade el corazón
40. sintió la cruda sensación
41. de su maldad.
42. Entre sombras
43. se le oye respirar
44. sufriente
45. al que antes de morir
46. sonríe
47. porque una dulce paz
48. le llega...
49. Sintió que desde el cielo
50. la madrecita buena,
51. mitigando sus penas
52. sus culpas perdonó.

(Gobello *Letras* 87-88)

La cumparsita (Si supieras)

Year: 1924

Lyricist: Pascual Contursi and Enrique P. Maroni

Composer: Gerardo H. Matos Rodríguez

1. Si supieras,
2. que aún dentro de mi alma,
3. conservo aquel cariño
4. que tuve para ti...
5. Quién sabe si supieras
6. que nunca te he olvidado,
7. volviendo a tu pasado
8. te acordarás de mí...

9. Los amigos ya no vienen
10. ni siquiera a visitarme,
11. nadie quiere consolarme
12. en mi aflicción...
13. Desde el día que te fuiste
14. siento angustias en mi pecho,
15. decí, percanta, ¿qué has hecho
16. de mi pobre corazón?

17. Sin embargo,
18. yo siempre te recuerdo
19. con el cariño santo
20. que tuve para ti.
21. Y estás en todas partes,
22. pedazo de mi vida,
23. y aquellos ojos que fueron mi alegría
24. los busco por todas partes
25. y no los puedo hallar.

26. Al cotorro abandonado
27. ya ni el sol de la mañana
28. asoma por la ventana
29. como cuando estabas vos,
30. y aquel perrito compañero,
31. que por tu ausencia no comía,
32. al verme solo el otro día
33. también me dejó.

(Gobello *Letras* 83; Romano 64-65)

La he visto con otro

Year: 1926

Lyricist: Pascual Contursi

Composer: Antonio Scatasso

1. La he visto con otro
2. pasearse del brazo;
3. mis ojos lloraban
4. de pena y dolor;
5. en cambio en su cara
6. sus negros ojos
7. reían contentos
8. de dicha y amor.

9. Recuerdo que en mis brazos
10. llorando me decía:
11. "Será pa' siempre tuya
12. mi vida y mi pasión"
13. Jugó con mis amores
14. la ingrata que fingía,
15. dejándome enlutado
16. mi pobre corazón.

17. Hay noches que solo
18. me quedo en el cuarto
19. rogando a la Virgen
20. me la haga olvidar.
21. y al verla con otro
22. pasar por mi lado,
23. en vez de matarla
24. me pongo a llorar.

(Gobello *Letras* 106-7; Romano 92-93)

La mina del Ford

Year: 1924

Lyricist: Pascual Contursi

Composer: Fidel del Negro and Antonio Scatasso

1. (Recitado)
2. Por eso, la mina aburrida
3. de aguantar la vida que le di,
4. “cachó” el baúl una noche
5. y se fue cantando así:

6. Yo quiero un cotorro
7. que tenga balcones,
8. cortinas muy largas
9. de seda crepé;
10. mirar los bacanes
11. pasando a montones,
12. pa' ver si algún reo
13. me dice: “¡Qué hacé!”

14. Yo quiero un cotorro
15. con piso encerado,
16. que tenga alfombrita
17. para caminar,
18. sillones de cuero
19. todo rempujado
20. y un loro atorrante
21. que sepa cantar.

22. Yo quiero una cama
23. que tenga acolchado,
24. y quiero una estufa
25. pa' entrar en calor;
26. Que venga el mucamo
27. corriendo apurado
28. y diga: “¡Señora!
29. ¡Araca! Está el Ford!”

(Gobello *Letras* 80; Romano 72-73)

La Morocha

Year: 1905

Lyricist: Ángel Gregorio Villoldo

Composer: Enrique Saborido

1. Yo soy la morocha,
2. la más agraciada,
3. la más renombrada
4. de esta población.
5. Soy la que al paisano
6. muy de madrugada
7. brinda un cimarrón.
8. Yo, con dulce acento,
9. junto a mi ranchito,
10. canto un estilito
11. con tierna pasión,
12. mientras que mi dueño
13. sale al trotecito
14. en su redomón.
15. Soy la morocha argentina,
16. la que no siente pesares
17. y alegre pasa la vida
18. con sus cantares.
19. Soy la gentil compañera
20. del noble gaucho porteño,
21. la que conserva el cariño
22. para su dueño.
23. Yo soy la morocha
24. de mirar ardiente,
25. la que en su alma siente
26. el fuego de amor.
27. Soy la que al criollito
28. más noble y valiente
29. ama con ardor.
30. En mi amado rancho,
31. bajo la enramada,
32. en noche plateada,
33. con dulce emoción,
34. le canto al pampero,
35. a mi patria amada
36. y a mi fiel amor.
37. Soy la morocha argentina,
38. la que no siente pesares
39. y alegre pasa la vida
40. con sus cantares.
41. Soy la gentil compañera
42. del noble gaucho porteño,
43. la que conserva el cariño
44. para su dueño.

(Gobello *Letras* 20-22; Romano 24-25)

La musa mistonga

Year: 1926

Lyricist: Celedonio Esteban Flores

Composer: Antonio Polito

1. La musa mistonga de los arrabales,
2. la mistonga musa del raro lenguaje
3. que abrevó en las aguas de los
 madrigales
4. y al llegar al pueblo se tornó
 salvaje.
5. la que nada sabe de abates troveros
6. que hilvanaron dulces endechas de
 amores,
7. pero que por boca de sus
 cancioneros
8. conoce la vida de sus payadores.
9. La que nada sabe de los caballeros
10. de acción en las lides de los
 cintarazos,
11. pero sabe casos de jugarse enteros
12. un par de malevos a prueba de
 hachazos.
13. Que ignora la gloria de un día vivido
14. bajo la fragante fronda de Versailles,
15. pero sale alegre cuando ha
 anohecido
16. a ver los muchachos jugar por las
 calles.
17. A ver cómo pasan felices parejas
18. y se torna alegre la cara del ciego
19. si escucha que hilvana sus
 canciones viejas
20. el buen organito que mentó
 Carriego.
21. Que ignora la cuita de la princesita
22. que pecó indiscreta con el rubio
 paje,
23. pero que se apena porque
 Milonguita
24. ha dado un mal paso y llora su
 ultraje.
25. Que no se ha enterado que en una
 pavana
26. se lucieron reyes de blasón y rango;
27. su amigo, el malevo, hace filigranas
28. en el duro piso y al compás de un
 tango.
29. Al compás de un tango donde
 abreva ahora,
30. para literarios implacables males,
31. en la suburbana paz evocadora
32. la musa mistonga de los arrabales.

(Romano 97-98)

La que murió en París

Year: 1930

Lyricist: Héctor Pedro Blomberg

Composer: Enrique Maciel

1. Yo sé que aún te acuerdas del
barrio perdido,
2. de aquel Buenos Aires que nos vio
partir,
3. que en tus labios fríos aún tiemblan
los tangos
4. que en París cantabas antes de
morir.
5. La lluvia de otoño mojó los
castaños,
6. pero ya no estabas en el bulevar...
7. Muchachita criolla de los ojos
negros,
8. tus labios dormidos ya no han de
cantar.
9. Siempre te están esperando
10. allá en el barrio feliz,
11. pero siempre está nevando
12. sobre tu sueño, en París.
13. Paloma, cómo tosías
14. aquel invierno, al llegar...
15. Como un tango te morías
16. en el frío bulevar...
17. Envuelta en mi poncho temblabas
de frío
18. mirando la nieve caer sin cesar.
19. Buscabas mis manos, cantando, en
tu fiebre,
20. el tango que siempre me hacía
llorar.
21. Me hablabas del barrio que ya no
verías,
22. de nuestros amores y de un
carnaval...
23. Y yo te miraba... París y la nieve
24. te estaban matando, flor de mi
arrabal.
25. Y así una noche te fuiste
26. por el frío bulevar,
27. como un tango viejo y triste
28. que ya nadie ha de cantar.
29. Siempre te están esperando
30. allá en el barrio feliz,
31. pero siempre está nevando
32. sobre tu sueño, en París...

Gobello *Letras* 178-79; Romano 206-07

La reina del tango

Year: 1928

Lyricist: Enrique Cadícamo

Composer: Rafael Iriarte

1. Flor de noche que al sordo fragor
2. del champán descorchado triunfás,
3. reina loca que un juego de amor
4. lentamente, bailando, trenzás.
5. Tu compás es el ritmo sensual
6. que en la alfombra retuerce el gotán
7. y tu pinta elegante y teatral
8. se muestra orgullosa junto a tu bacán.

9. Sos reina del tango,
10. papusa ruflera,
11. la ciencia canera
12. de saber bailar
13. prendió una diadema
14. de rante nobleza
15. sobre tu cabeza
16. reina del gotán.
17. Tiembla en tus caderas
18. la música rea,
19. es la melopea
20. que a tu corazón
21. muy a la sordina
22. le hace un contracanto
23. que aumenta el quebranto
24. de tu perdición.

25. El gotán se te fue al corazón
26. como un dulce chamuyo de amor
27. y es por eso que en esta canción
28. encontrarás alegría y dolor.
29. Che, milonga, seguí el jarandón,
30. meta baile con corte y champán,
31. ya una noche tendrás que bailar
32. el tango grotesco del Juicio Final.

(Cadícamo "La reina")

Loca

Year: 1922

Lyricist: Antonio Martínez Viérgol

Composer: Manuel Jovés

1. Loca me llaman mis amigos,
2. que sólo son testigos
3. de mi liviano amor.
4. Loca...
5. ¿Qué saben lo que siento,
6. ni qué remordimiento
7. se oculta en mi interior?
8. Yo tengo con alegrías
9. que disfrazar mi tristeza
10. y que hacen de mi cabeza
11. las pesadillas huir.
12. Yo tengo que ahogar en vino
13. la pena que me devora...
14. Cuando mi corazón llora
15. mis labios deben reír.
16. Yo, si a un hombre lo desprecio,
17. tengo que fingirle amores,
18. y admiración, cuando es necio
19. y si es cobarde, temores...
20. Yo que no he pertenecido
21. al ambiente en que ahora estoy
22. he de olvidar lo que he sido
23. y he de olvidar lo que soy.
24. Loca me dicen mis amigos
25. que sólo son testigos
26. de mi liviano amor.
27. Loca...
28. ¿Qué saben lo que siento
29. ni qué remordimiento
30. se oculta en mi interior?
31. Allá muy lejos, muy lejos,
32. donde el sol cae cada día,
33. un tranquilo hogar tenía
34. y en el hogar unos viejos.
35. La vida y su encanto era
36. una muchacha que huyó
37. sin decirles dónde fuera...
38. y esa muchacha soy yo.
39. Hoy no existe ya la casa,
40. hoy no existen ya los viejos
41. hoy la muchacha muy lejos,
42. sufriendo la vida pasa.
43. Y al caer todos los días
44. en aquella tierra el sol,
45. caen con él mis alegrías
46. y muere mi corazón.

(Gobello *Letras* 61-62)

Loca bohemia

Year: 1928

Lyricist: Francisco Rimoli (pseudonym: Dante A. Linyera)

Composer: Francisco De Caro

1. Tú eres pequeña y yo
2. un soñador bohemio, triste y cantor...
3. ¿Qué importa que falte el pan
4. si la ilusión, con su loco afán,
5. nos da la emoción
6. del ideal?
7. Decías, riéndote:
8. cantar... reír
9. besarse, amarse, fundirse
10. en un solo ser...
11. Eso es vivir.

12. Después, cambió Mimí
13. se fue tras un burgués
14. y enmudeció el cantor...
15. ¿A qué cantar? ¿Ya quién?
16. Y entristeció el cuartucho que ayer
17. en nuestra loca bohemia se abrió
18. como el hogar de todos
19. los sin hogar...
20. Ya no se oirá cantar...
21. Vaga la angustia en nuestra vida
22. porque mi corazón
23. sólo sabe sollozar.

24. ¡Loca bohemia!... Ya
25. mi corazón no gime... Se fue el dolor...
26. ¡Qué importa si ella no está,
27. si otra ilusión, con su loco afán,
28. nos dará la flor
29. de una emoción!...
30. ¡Venga el olvido!... Que
31. soñar... reír...
32. engañarse... traicionarse...
33. volver a empezar...
34. ¡Eso es vivir!

(Linyera)

Lunes

Year: 1927

Lyricist: Francisco García Jiménez

Composer: José Luis Padula

1. Un catedrático escarba su bolsillo
2. pa' ver si un níquel le alcanza pa' un completo...
3. Ayer -¡qué dulce!-, la fija del potrillo;
4. hoy -¡qué vinagre!-, rompiendo los boletos...
5. El almanaque nos bate que es lunes,
6. que se ha acabado la vida bacana,
7. que viene al humo una nueva semana
8. con su mistongo programa escorchador.
9. Rumbeando pa'l taller
10. va Josefina,
11. que en la milonga, ayer,
12. la iba de fina.
13. La reina del salón
14. ayer se oyó llamar...
15. Del trono se bajó
16. pa'ir a trabaj...
17. El lungo Pantaleón
18. ata la chata
19. de traje fullerón
20. y en alpargata.
21. Ayer en el Paddock
22. jugaba diez y diez...
23. Hoy va a cargar
24. carbón al Dique 3.
25. Piantó el domingo del placer,
26. bailongo, póker y champán.
27. Hasta el más seco pudo ser
28. por diez minutos un bacán.
29. El triste lunes se asomó,
30. mi sueño al diablo fue a parar,
31. la redoblona se cortó
32. y pa'l laburo hay que rumbear.
33. Pero, ¿qué importa que en este monte criollo
34. hoy muestre un lunes en puerta el almanaque?
35. Si en esa carta caímos en el hoyo,
36. ya ha de venir un domingo que nos saque.
37. No hay mal, muchachos, que dure cien años
38. y ligaremos también un bizcocho...
39. A lo mejor acertamos las ocho
40. ¡y quién te ataja ese día, corazón!...

(García Jiménez)

Madame Ivonne

Year: 1933

Lyricist: Enrique Cadícamo

Composer: Eduardo ("Chon") Pereyra

1. Mamuasel Ivonne era una pebeta
2. que en el barrio posta de viejo Montmartre,
3. con su pinta brava de alegre griseta
4. animó la fiesta de Les Quatre Arts.
5. Era la papusa del barrio latino
6. que supo a los puntos del verso inspirar...
7. Pero fue que un día llegó un argentino
8. y a la francesita la hizo suspirar.

9. Madame Ivonne,
10. la Cruz del Sur fue como el sino,
11. Madame Ivonne,
12. fue como el sino de tu suerte...
13. Alondra gris,
14. tu dolor me conmueve,
15. tu pena es de nieve...
16. Madame Ivonne...

17. Han pasado diez años que zarpó de Francia,
18. Mamuasel Ivonne hoy solo es Madam...
19. La que va a ver que todo quedó en la distancia
20. con ojos muy tristes bebe su champán.
21. Ya no es la papusa del Barrio Latino,
22. ya no es la mistonga florcita de lis,
23. ya nada le queda... Ni aquel argentino
24. que entre tango y mate la alzó de París

(Romano 244-45)

Mala entraña

Year: 1927

Lyricist: Celedonio Esteban Flores

Composer: Enrique Maciel

1. Te criaste entre malevos,
2. malandrines y matones;
3. entre gentes de avería
4. desarrollaste tu acción.
5. Por tu estampa, en el suburbio
6. florecieron los balcones,
7. y lograste la conquista
8. de sensibles corazones
9. con tu prestigio sentado
10. de buen mozo y de varón.

11. Mezcla rara de magnate
12. nacido en el sabalaje,
13. vos sos la calle Florida
14. que se vino al arrabal.
15. Compadrito de mi esquina,
16. que sólo cambió de traje,
17. pienso siempre que te veo
18. tirándote a personaje,
19. que sos un mixto jaulero
20. con berretín de zorzal.

21. Malandrín de la carpeta,
22. te timbeaste de un biabazo
23. el caudal con que tu vieja
24. pudo vivir todo un mes,
25. impasible ante las fichas,
26. en las noches de escolaso
27. en el circo de Palermo,
28. cuando a taco y a lonjazos
29. te perdés por un pescuezo
30. la moneda que tenés.

31. Y es por eso que asentaste
32. tu cartel de indiferente,
33. insensible a los halagos
34. de la vida y al sufrir.
35. Se murió tu pobre madre,
36. y en el mármol de tu frente
37. ni una sombra, ni una arruga
38. que deschavara, elocuente,
39. que tu vieja no fue un perro,
40. y que vos sabés sentir.

41. Pero al fin todo se acaba
42. en esta vida rastrera
43. y se arruga el más derecho
44. si lo tiran a matar.
45. vos, que sos más estirado
46. que tejido de fiamblera,
47. quiera Dios que no te cache
48. la mala racha fulera,
49. que si no, como un alambre,
50. te voy a ver arrollar.

(Romano 111-12)

Malena

Year: 1942

Lyricist: Homero Manzi

Composer: Lucio Demare

1. Malena canta el tango como ninguna
2. y en cada verso pone su corazón.
3. A yuyo del suburbio su voz perfuma,
4. Malena tiene pena de bandoneón.
5. Tal vez allá en la infancia su voz de alondra
6. tomó ese tono oscuro de callejón,
7. acaso aquel romance que sólo nombra
8. cuando se pone triste con el alcohol.
9. Malena canta el tango con voz de sombra,
10. Malena tiene pena de bandoneón.

11. Tu canción
12. tiene el frío del último encuentro.
13. Tu canción
14. se hace amarga en la sal del recuerdo.
15. Yo no sé
16. si tu voz es la flor de una pena,
17. sólo sé que al rumor de tus tangos, Malena,
18. te siento más buena,
19. más buena que yo.

20. Tus ojos son oscuros como el olvido,
21. tus labios apretados como el rencor,
22. tus manos dos palomas que sienten frío,
23. tus venas tienen sangre de bandoneón.
24. Tus tangos son criaturas abandonadas
25. que cruzan sobre el barro del callejón,
26. cuando todas las puertas están cerradas
27. y ladran los fantasmas de la canción.
28. Malena canta el tango con voz quebrada,
29. Malena tiene pena de bandoneón.

Gobello *Letras* 238-39; Romano 309-10)

Mano a mano

Year: 1923

Lyricist: Celedonio Esteban Flores

Composer: Carlos Gardel y José Razzano

1. Rechiflado en mi tristeza, te evoco y veo que has sido
2. en mi pobre vida paria sólo una buena mujer;
3. Tu presencia de bacana puso calor en mi nido,
4. fuiste buena, consecuente, y yo sé que me has querido
5. como no quisiste a nadie, como no podrás querer.

6. Se dio el juego de remanye cuando vos, pobre percanta,
7. gambeteabas la pobreza en la casa de pensión.
8. Hoy sos toda una bacana, la vida te ríe y canta,
9. Los morlacos del otario los tirás a la marchanta
10. como juega el gato maula con el mísero ratón.

11. Hoy tenés el mate lleno de infelices ilusiones,
12. te engrupieron los otarios, las amigas el gavión;
13. la milonga, entre magnates, con sus locas tentaciones,
14. donde triunfan y claudican milongueras pretensiones,
15. se te ha entrado muy adentro en tu pobre corazón.

16. Nada debo agradecerte, mano a mano hemos quedado,
17. no me importa lo que has hecho, lo que hacés ni lo que harás;
18. los favores recibidos creo habértelos pagado
19. y, si alguna deuda chica sin querer se me ha olvidado
20. en la cuenta del otario que tenés se la cargás.

21. Mientras tanto, que tus triunfos, pobres triunfos pasajeros,
22. sean una larga fila de riquezas y placer;
23. que el bacán que te acamala tenga pesos duraderos,
24. que te abrás de las paradas con cafishos milongueros
25. y que digan los muchachos: "Es una buena mujer".

26. Y mañana, cuando seas descolado mueble viejo
27. y no tengas esperanzas en tu pobre corazón,
28. si precisás una ayuda, si te hace falta un consejo,
29. acordate de este amigo que ha de jugarse el pellejo
30. pa'ayudarte en lo que pueda cuando llegue la ocasión.

(Gobello *Letras* 68-69; Romano 39-40)

Margarita Gauthier

Year: 1935

Lyricist: Isaac Russofsky (pseudonyme: Julio Jorge Nelson)

Composer: Joaquín Mauricio Mora

1. Hoy te evoco emocionado, mi divina Margarita.
2. Hoy te añoro en mis recuerdos, ¡oh, mi dulce inspiración!
3. Soy tu Armando, el que te clama, mi sedosa muñequita,
4. el que te llora... el que reza, embargado de emoción;
5. el idilio que se ha roto me ha robado paz y calma,
6. y la muerte ha profanado la virtud de nuestro amor.
7. ¡Para qué quiero la vida!... si mi alma destrozada
8. sufre una angustia suprema... vive este cruento dolor.

9. Hoy de hinojos en la tumba donde descansa tu cuerpo,
10. He brindado el homenaje que tu alma suspiró;
11. He llevado el ramillete de camelias ya marchitas,
12. Que aquel día me ofreciste como emblema de tu amor.
13. Al ponerlas junto al lecho donde dormías tranquila,
14. Una lágrima muy tierna de mis ojos descendió
15. Y rezando por tu alma, mi divina Margarita,
16. Un sollozo entrecortado en mi pecho se anidó.

17. Nunca olvido aquella noche que, besándome en la boca,
18. Una camelia muy frágil de tu pecho se cayó;
19. la tomaste tristemente, la besaste como loca,
20. y entre aquellos pobres pétalos, una mancha apareció.
21. ¡Era sangre que vertías! ¡Oh, mi pobre Margarita!
22. ¡Eran signos de agonía... eran huellas de tu mal
23. Y te fuiste lentamente... ¡Vida mía! ¡Muñequita!
24. Pues la Parca te llamaba con su sorna tan fatal.

(Gobello *Letras* 212-13; Romano 258-59)

Margot

Year: 1919

Lyricist: Celedonio Esteban Flores

Composer: Carlos Gardel y José Razzano

1. Se te embroca desde lejos, pelandruna abacanada,
2. que has nacido en la miseria de un convento de arrabal,
3. Porque hay algo que te vende, yo no sé si es la mirada,
4. la manera de sentarte, de mirar, de estar parada,
5. ese cuerpo acostumbrado a las pilchas de percal.

6. Ese cuerpo que hoy te marca los compases tentadores
7. del canyengue de algún tango en los brazos de algún gil,
8. mientras triunfa tu silueta y tu traje de colores,
9. entre el humo de los puros y el champán de Armenonville.

10. Son macanas, no fue un guapo haragán ni prepotente
11. ni un cafisho de averías el que al vicio te largó;
12. Vos rodaste por tu culpa y no fue inocentemente:
13. ¡berretines de bacana que tenías en la mente
14. desde el día que un magnate cajetilla te afiló!

15. Yo recuerdo, no tenías casi nada que ponerte;
16. hoy usas ajuar de seda con rositas rococó...
17. ¡me reviente tu presencia, pagaría por no verte!
18. Si hasta el nombre te han cambiado como has cambiado de suerte:
19. ya no sos mi Margarita... ¡ahora te llaman Margot!

20. Ahora vas con los otarios a pasarla de bacana
21. a un lujoso reservado del Petit o del Julien;
22. y tu vieja, ¡pobre vieja! lava toda la semana
23. pa' poder parar la olla, con pobreza franciscana,
24. en el triste conventillo alumbrado a querosén.

(Romano 34-35)

Matasano

Year: 1914

Lyricist: Pascual Contursi

Composer: Francisco Canaro

1. Soy el taita porteño
2. más corrido y calavera.
3. Abro cancha donde quiera
4. si se trata de tanguear,
5. el que maneja el cuchillo
6. con audacia y coraje
7. y en medio del malevaje
8. me he hecho siempre respetar.
9. Yo he nacido en Buenos Aires
10. y mi techo ha sido el cielo.
11. Fue mi único consuelo
12. la madre que me dio el ser.
13. Desde entonces mi destino
14. me arrastra en el padecer.
15. Y por eso es que en la cara
16. llevo eterna la alegría,
17. pero dentro de mi pecho
18. llevo escondido un dolor.
19. Cesará ese tormento
20. tan sólo cuando me muera,
21. pero mientras viva quiero
22. disfrutar de lo mejor.
23. Cuando en algún bailongo
24. caigo con mi querida,
25. la muchachada corrida
26. deja toda de bailar,
27. porque sabe que este taita
28. tiene fama de ladino,
29. y en el suelo argentino
30. no hay quien lo pueda igualar.
31. Tengo línea, soy de bute
32. pa' un trabajo de carpeta,
33. y aunque no visto shusheta
34. tengo clase y pedigré.
35. Entre taitas soy manyao;
36. entre gente, sosegao,
37. y así vivo de rechipé.

(Gobello *Letras* 36-37)

Mentira

Year: 1932

Lyricist: Celedonio Esteban Flores

Composer: Francisco Pracánico

1. Vos sabés que fuiste para mí
2. la luz de mi cabeza alocada,
3. el porqué de mi pobre vivir
4. que vos alimentaste de amor...
5. Muñequita de trapo
6. que yo adoré santamente
7. y fingías quererme...
8. ¡Mentira, mentira! ¡No tiene perdón!

9. Me pregunto cuáles son
10. las causas por que vos
11. quebraste mi felicidad,
12. por qué razón fatal
13. vos me causaste tanto mal...
14. No te vengo a mendigar
15. cariños que tal vez
16. a otros le entregaste
17. como a mí,
18. ni me arrepiento
19. de haberte querido así.

20. Y pensar que yo te vi llorar
21. de amor entre mis brazos de hombre,
22. que escuché jurarme tu querer
23. por todo lo más grande que hay,
24. por tu santa viejita,
25. que Dios la tenga en la gloria...
26. ¡Y eran todas mentiras,
27. mentiras, mentiras de mala mujer!

(Flores)

Mi noche triste (Lita)

Year: 1915

Lyricist: Pascual Contursi

Composer: Samuel Castriota

1. Percanta que me amuraste
2. en lo mejor de mi vida,
3. dejándome el alma herida
4. y espina en el corazón,
5. sabiendo que te quería,
6. que vos eras mi alegría
7. y mi sueño abrasador;
8. para mí ya no hay consuelo
9. y por eso me encurdelo
10. pa' olvidarme de tu amor.

11. Cuando voy a mi cotorro
12. y lo veo desarreglado,
13. todo triste, abandonado,
14. me dan ganas de llorar,
15. me detengo largo rato
16. campaneando tu retrato
17. pa' poderme consolar.

18. De noche, cuando me acuesto
19. no puedo cerrar la puerta,
20. porque dejándola abierta
21. me hago ilusión que volvés.
22. Siempre traigo bizcochitos
23. pa' tomar con matecito
24. como cuando estabas vos...
25. y si vieras la catrera
26. cómo se pone cabrera
27. cuando no nos ve a los dos.

28. Ya no hay en el bulín
29. aquellos lindos frasquitos
30. adornados con moñitos
31. todos del mismo color.
32. y el espejo está empañado,
33. si parece que ha llorado
34. por la ausencia de tu amor.

35. La guitarra en el ropero
36. todavía está colgada;
37. nadie en ella canta nada
38. ni hace sus cuerdas vibrar...
39. Y la lámpara del cuarto
40. también tu ausencia ha sentido
41. porque su luz no ha querido
42. mi noche triste alumbrar.

(Gobello *Letras* 40-41; Romano 30-31)

Mi Papito

Year: 1928

Lyricist: Roberto Fontaina and Víctor Soliño

Composer: David Estévez Martín

1. Mira, José, no seas otario,
2. No andas con vueltas y fajala,
3. que a la mujer que sale mala
4. pa' hacerla andar derecha
5. la biaba es lo mejor.
6. En cuanto le des cuatro gritos
7. y la tratés de prepotencia,
8. palpitará la contundencia
9. y te dirá loca de amor:
10. "Yo quisiera que me casques pa'quererte,
11. mi papito,
12. mi papito,
13. yo quisiera que me dejes de ambulancia,
14. mi papito,
15. por favor.
16. Yo me meto cuando encuentro a un hombre fuerte;
17. si me casca
18. me enloquece,
19. pero en cambio no les doy beligerancia
20. a esos tipos que hablan de amor".

21. Yo, como vos, no me animaba.....(biaba)
22. pero la vida nos enseña.....(leña)
23. que la mujer es dura peña
24. que con palabras dulces
25. no se puede partir.
26. Yo no quiero hacerme el malo.....(palo)
27. y ella pensó que yo era un "caso",
28. pero le di el primer tortazo
29. y con amor me dijo así.

Gobello *Letras* 146-47)

Milonguita (Esthercita)

Year: 1920

Lyricist: Samuel Linnig

Composer: Enrique Delfino

1. ¿Te acordás, Milonguita? Vos eras
2. la pebeta más linda 'e Chiclana;
3. la pollera cortona y las trenzas,
4. y en las trenzas un beso de sol.
5. Y en aquellas noches de verano,
6. ¿qué soñaba tu almita, mujer,
7. al oír en la esquina algún tango
8. chamayarte bajito de amor?

9. Esthercita,
10. hoy te llaman Milonguita,
11. flor de noche y de placer,
12. flor de lujo y cabaret.
13. Milonguita,
14. los hombres te han hecho mal
15. y hoy darías toda tu alma
16. por vestirme de percal.

17. Cuando sales por la madrugada,
18. Milonguita, de aquel cabaret,
19. toda tu alma temblando de frío
20. dices: ¡Ay, si pudiera querer!...
21. Y entre el vino y el último tango
22. p'al cotorro te saca un bacán...
23. ¡Ay, qué sola, Esthercita, te sientes!
24. Si llorás... ¡dicen que es el champán!

(Gobello *Letras* 54-55; Romano 42-43)

Mocosita

Year: 1926

Lyricist: Victor Saliño

Composer: Gerardo H. Matos Rodríguez

1. Vencido, con el alma amargada,
2. sin esperanzas, saciado de la vida,
3. solloza en su bulín
4. el pobre payador,
5. sin hallar un consuelo a su dolor.
6. Colgada de un clavo, la guitarra...
7. en un rincón la tiene abandonada...
8. De sus amigos
9. ya no le importa nada...
10. Tirado en la catrera no hace más
que llorar.
11. En alguna ocasión
12. sólo se escucha esta canción:
13. "Mocosita,
14. no me dejés morir, volvé al cotorro,
15. que no puedo vivir.
16. ¡Si supieras las veces que he soñado
17. que de nuevo te tenía a mi lado!...
18. Mocosita,
19. no seas tan cruel, no me
abandones...
20. Quiero verte otra vez...
21. Mocosita,
22. no me dejes, que me mata poco a
poco tu desdén."
23. Dormía tranquilo el conventillo,
24. nada turbaba el silencio de la noche
25. cuando se oyó sonar
26. allá en la oscuridad
27. el disparo de una bala fatal.
28. Corrieron ansiosos los vecinos
29. que presentían el final de aquel
drama
30. y se encontraron,
31. tirado en una cama,
32. en un charco de sangre, al pobre
payador.
33. Pero, antes de morir,
34. alguien le oyó cantar así:
35. "Mocosita,
36. no me dejés morir, volvé al cotorro,
37. que no puedo vivir...
38. ¡Si supieras las veces que he soñado
39. que de nuevo te tenía a mi lado!
40. Mocosita,
41. no seas tan cruel, no me
abandones...
42. Quiero verte otra vez...
43. Mocosita,
44. no me dejes, que me mata poco a
poco tu desdén."

(Gobello *Letras* 110-11)

Mojarrita

Year: c. 1925-1949

Lyricist: Enrique Cadícamo

Composer: Nicolás Verona

1. Ayer te vi trajeada de shusheta
2. paseando en un gran auto roncador
3. ¡si vieras qué dolor sentí pebeta
4. al verte así jugando con tu amor!
5. Me hicieron mal tus ojos, esos ojos
6. en los que tantas veces me miré,
7. y el “rouge” de tus divinos labios rojos
8. me habló de cuando tanto los besé.

9. Mojarrita
10. te llamaban en el barrio...
11. Hoy te bate algún otario
12. para poderte halagar:
13. “Muñequita”...
 - algún nombre afranchutado.
14. Mojarrita
15. ya no sos más la de ayer.

16. Me acuerdo de tu pinta suburbana
17. cuando triunfal, camino al almacén,
18. taqueabas por la acera muy ufana.
19. ¡Quién iba a sospechar tu proceder!

20. Hoy sos placer, sos risa y alegría,
21. triste girón de lo que fuiste ayer...
22. Tené cuidao pebeta que algún día
23. la muerte se te puede aparecer...

24. Mojarrita
25. desgraná tu risa loca,
26. pero siempre habrá en tu boca
27. una mueca de dolor.

28. Mojarrita
29. que trajeada de shusheta
30. me das dique
31. desde un auto roncador.

(Cadícamo “Mojarrita”)

Moneda de Cobre

Year: 1942

Lyricist: Horacio Sanguinette

Composer: Carlos Vivian

1. Tu padre era rubio, borracho y malevo,
2. tu madre era negra con labios malvón.
3. Mulata naciste con ojos de cielo
4. y mota en el pelo de negro carbón.
5. Creciste entre el lodo de un barrio muy pobre,
6. cumpliste veinte años en un cabaret.
7. Y ahora te llaman moneda de cobre
8. porque vieja y triste muy poco valés.

9. Moneda de cobre,
10. yo sé que ayer fuiste hermosa,
11. yo con tus alas de rosa
12. te vi volar mariposa
13. y después te vi caer...
14. Moneda de fango,
15. ¡Qué bien bailabas el tango!...
16. Qué linda estabas entonces,
17. como una reina de bronce,
18. allá en el "Folies Berger".

19. Aquel barrio triste de barro y de latas
20. igual que tu vida desapareció...
21. Pasaron veinte años, querida mulata,
22. no existen tus padres, no existe el farol.
23. Quizás en la esquina te quedas perdida
24. buscando la casa que te vio nacer;
25. seguí, no te pares, no muestres la herida...
26. No llores mulata, total, ¡para qué!

(Gobello *Letras* 238-39)

Muchacho

Year: 1924

Lyricist: Celedonio Esteban Flores

Composer: Edgardo Donato

1. Muchacho que porque la suerte
quiso
2. vivís en un primer piso
3. de un palacete central,
4. que para vicios y placeres,
5. para farras y mujeres
6. disponés de un capital.
7. Muchacho
8. que no sabés el encanto
9. de haber derramado llanto
10. sobre un pecho de mujer;
11. y no sabés qué es secarse
12. en una timba y armarse
13. para volverse a meter.
14. Que decís que un tango rante
15. no te hace perder la calma,
16. y que no te llora el alma
17. cuando gime un bandoneón;
18. que si tenés sentimiento
19. lo tenés adormecido
20. pues todo lo has conseguido
21. pagando como un chabón.
22. Decime
23. si en tu vida pelandruna,
24. bajo la luz de la Luna
25. si no bajo un farol,
26. no te has sentido poeta
27. y le has dicho a una pebeta
28. que ella es más linda que el sol.
29. Decime
30. si conocés la armonía
31. la dulce policromía
32. de las tardes de arrabal,
33. cuando van las fabriqueras
34. tentadoras y diqueras
35. bajo el sonoro percal.

(Romano 71-72)

Muñeca brava

Year: 1928

Lyricist: Enrique Cadícamo

Composer: Luis Visca

1. Che, madam que parlás en francés
2. y tirás ventolín a dos manos,
3. que cenás con champán bien frappé
4. y en el tango enredás tu ilusión...
5. Sos un biscuit de pestañas muy arqueadas,
6. Muñeca brava, ¡bien cotizada!
7. Sos del Trianón... del Trianón de Villa Crespo,
8. Che, vampiresa... juguete de ocasión...
-
9. Tenés un camba que te hacen gustos
10. y veinte abriles que son diqueros
11. y bien repleto tu monedero
12. pa' patinarlo de Norte a Sur...
13. Te baten todos Muñeca Brava
14. porque a los giles mareás sin grupo...
15. Pa' mi sos siempre la que no supo
16. guardar un cacho de amor y juventud.
-
17. Campanea que la vida se va
18. y enfundá tu silueta de rango...
19. Y si el llanto te viene a buscar
20. olvidate muñeca y reí,
21. meta champán que la vida se te escapa,
22. Muñeca Brava, flor de pecado...
23. Cuando llegués al final de tu carrera,
24. tus primaveras verás languidecer.
-
25. Comprendo que la vida se va
26. y se acaban los brillos y el rango...
27. Cuando el llanto te venga a buscar
28. acordate, muñeca, de mí...
-
29. ...De mí, que siempre soñé con tu cariño
30. y allá en el barrio te amé de niño...
31. ¡Pero pa' qué voy a decirte cosas viejas,
32. si ya has cambiado, muñeca, el corazón!

(Gobello *Letras* 147-48; Romano 134-35)

Niño bien

Year: 1927

Lyricist: Roberto Fontaina y Víctor Soliño

Composer: Ramón Collazo

1. Niño bien, pretencioso y engrupido,
2. que tenés berretín de figurar.
3. Niño bien que llevás dos apellidos
4. y que usás de escritorio el "Petit Bar".
5. Pelandrún que la vas de distinguido
6. y siempre hablás de la estancia de papá,
7. mientras tu viejo, pa' ganarse el puchero,
8. todos los días sale a vender fainá.

9. Vos te creés que porque hablás de "ti",
10. fumás tabaco inglés,
11. paseás por Sarandí
12. y te cortás las patillas a lo Rodolfo
13. sos un fifí.
14. Porque usás la corbata carmín
15. y allá en el Chantecler
16. la vas de bailarín
17. y te mandás la biaba de gomina,
18. te creés que sos un rana
19. y sos un pobre gil.

20. Niño bien, que naciste en el suburbio
21. de un bulín alumbrao a querosén,
22. que tenés pedigrée bastante turbio
23. y decís que sos de familia bien.
24. No manyás que estás mostrando la hilacha
25. y al caminar con aire triunfador
26. se ve bien claro que tenés mucha clase
27. para lucir detrás de un mostrador.

(Romano 110-11)

No aflojés

Year: 1931

Lyricist: Mario Battistela

Composer: Pedro Maffia

1. Vos, que fuiste de todos el más púa,
2. batí con qué ganzúa
3. plantaron tus hazañas.
4. Por tu ausencia en las borracherías
5. cambió la estantería
6. el gusto de las cañas...
7. Compadrito de aquellos tiempos,
8. soy el tango hecho lamento
9. corro parejo con tu pintón.
10. ¡Sufro tu misma emoción!

11. Vos fuiste el rey del bailongo
12. en lo de Laura y la Vasca...
13. ¡Había que ver las churrascas
14. cómo soñaban tras tuyo!
15. ¡Se alzaba cada barullo
16. tu taconear compadrón
17. que era como flor de yuyo
18. que embrujaba el corazón!

19. Maula el tiempo te basureó de asalto
20. al revocar de asfalto
21. las calles de tu barrio.
22. No es que quiera tomarlo tan a pecho
23. pero es que no hay derecho
24. que hoy talle tanto otario.
25. Macho lindo de aquel pasado,
26. te saludo desconsolado
27. porque en tu reino sentimental
28. vuelco la esquina final.

(Gobello *Letras* 203; Romano 216-17)

Noche de reyes

Year: 1926

Lyricist: Jorge Curi

Composer: Pedro Maffia

1. La quise como nadie tal vez haya querido
2. y la adoraba tanto que hasta celos sentí.
3. Por ella me hice bueno, honrado y buen marido
4. y en hombre de trabajo, mi vida convertí.
5. Al cabo de algún tiempo de unir nuestro destino
6. nació un varoncito, orgullo de mi hogar;
7. y era mi dicha tanta al ver claro mi camino,
8. ser padre de familia, honrado y trabajar.

9. Pero una noche de Reyes,
10. cuando a mi hogar regresaba,
11. comprobé que me engañaba
12. con el amigo más fiel.
13. Y ofendido en mi amor propio
14. quise vengar el ultraje,
15. lleno de ira y coraje
16. ¡sin compasión los maté!

17. Qué cuadro compañeros, no quiero recordarlo,
18. me llena de vergüenza, de odio y de rencor.
19. ¡De qué vale ser bueno! Si aparte de vengarme
20. clavaron en mi pecho la flecha del dolor.
21. Por eso compañero, como hoy es día de Reyes,
22. los zapatitos el nene afuera los dejó.
23. Espera un regalito y no sabe que a la madre
24. por falsa y por canalla, ¡su padre la mató!

(Curi)

¡Nostalgias! (Rief)

Year: c. 1919

Lyricist: Juan Rief

Composer: Juan M. Vicente

1. Andabas por Triunvirato
2. Con una linda pebeta
3. Muy elegante y coqueta
4. Que me llamó la atención;
5. Eran sus ojos divinos
6. De una mirada candente
7. Y en sus labios rojos ardientes
8. Todo era fuego y pasión.

9. Y recordé que yo también un día
10. Amé a una joven con loca pasión
11. Y ella también juró que me amaría
12. Como Julieta a su Romeo amó;
13. Pero más tarde ¡ó cruel desengaño!
14. Aquella infiel jugaba con mi amor
15. Con un mal hombre se hubo fugado
16. Por que alhajas y lujos le dió.

17. Siento yo en mi pecho
18. Nostalgias al verte
19. Por que a mi la suerte
20. No me acarició...
21. Y entonces llorando
22. Quisiera la muerte
23. Por que yo al perderte
24. Mi alma enfermó.

(Rief)

Nunca tuvo novio

Year: 1930

Lyricist: Enrique Cadícamo

Composer: Agustín Bardi

1. Pobre solterona... te has quedado
2. sin ilusión, sin fe...
3. Tu corazón de angustias se ha enfermado,
4. puesta de sol es hoy tu vida trunca...
5. Sigues, como entonces, releyendo
6. el novelón sentimental
7. en el que una niña aguarda en vano
8. consumida por un mal
9. de amor...

10. En la soledad
11. de tu pieza de soltera está el dolor...
12. Triste realidad
13. es el fin de tu jornada sin amor...
14. Lloras, y al llorar,
15. van las lágrimas temblando tu emoción...
16. y en las hojas de tu viejo novelón
17. te ves, sin fuerzas, palpar.
18. Deja de llorar
19. por el príncipe soñado que no fue
20. junto a ti a volcar
21. el rivero melodioso de su voz...
22. Tras el ventanal,
23. mientras pega la llovizna en el cristal,
24. con tus ojos más nublados de dolor
25. soñás un paisaje de amor...

26. Nunca tuvo novio... pobrecita...
27. ¿Por qué el amor no fue
28. a su rincón de humilde muchachita
29. a reanimar las flores de sus años?...
30. Yo, con mi montón de desengaños,
31. igual que vos, vivo sin luz,
32. sin una caricia venturosa
33. que haga olvidar
34. mi cruz...

(Romano 192-93)

Organito de la tarde

Year: 1923

Lyricist: José González Castillo

Composer: Cátulo Castillo

1. Al paso tardo de un pobre viejo,
 2. puebla de notas el arrabal
 3. con un concierto de vidrios rotos
 4. el organito crepuscular.
 5. Dándole vueltas a la manija
 6. un hombre rengo marcha detrás,
 7. mientras la dura pata de palo
 8. marca del tango el compás.
 9. En las notas de esa musiquita
 10. hay no sé qué rara sensación
 11. que el barrio parece
 12. impregnarse todo de emoción.
 13. Y es porque son tantos los
recuerdos
 14. que a su paso despertando va
 15. que llena las almas con un gran
deseo de llorar.
 16. Y al triste son
 17. de esa su canción
 18. sigue el organito lerdo
 19. como sembrando a su paso
 20. más pesar en el recuerdo,
 21. más calor en el ocaso...
 22. Y allá se va,
 23. de su tango al son,
 24. como buscando la noche
 25. que apagará su canción.
 26. Cuentan las viejas que todo saben
 27. y que el pianito juntó a charlar
 28. que aquel viejito tuvo una hija
 29. que era la gloria del arrabal;
 30. cuentan que el rengo era su novio
 31. y que en el corte no tuvo igual,
 32. supo con ella, y en las milongas,
 33. con aquel tango triunfar.
 34. Pero cayó un día un forastero,
 35. bailarín, buen mozo y peleador,
 36. que en una milonga
 37. compañera y pierna le quitó.
 38. Desde entonces es que padre y
novio
 39. van buscando por el arrabal
 40. la ingrata muchacha
 41. al compás de aquel tango fatal.
- (Romano 60-61)

Pato

Year: 1928

Lyricist: Ramón Collazo

Composer: Ramón Collazo

1. Ayer te vi pasar con aires de bacán
2. en una "Voituret" copera.
3. Te saludé y vos te hiciste el gil
4. como si no me conocieras.
5. Llevabas en tu cara blanca de fifí
6. más polvos que una carretera.
7. Fue tal la bronca que yo me agarré
8. Que quise gritarte así:
-
9. Pato,
10. fuiste en todo momento.
11. Pato,
12. aunque quieras despistar.
13. Seco,
14. hoy tenés apartamento
15. y te pasan mucho viento
16. pa' lucirte en el "Pigall".
-
17. Pato,
18. que peinás a la gomina,
19. hoy sos
20. milonguero y compadrón.
21. Cuando
22. te dé el espiante la mina
23. volverás por nuestra esquina
24. a mangar para el bullón.
-
25. De lo que fuiste ayer ya nada te quedó
26. muchacho rante de mi barrio,
27. y quién te vio como te he visto yo
28. nota que sos un pobre otario.
29. Recuerda que la vida de cualquier bacán
30. tiene más vueltas que la oreja,
31. y si un día la suerte no da,
32. al suburbio volverás.

(Gobello *Letras* 148-49)

Pebeta graciosa

Year: c. 1925-1949

Lyricist: Enrique Cadícamo

Composer: Carlos Sánchez

1. Pebeta graciosa
2. que gastás melena
3. que la vas con cenas
4. en el Tabarís,
5. que paseas en auto
6. luciendo orgullosa
7. la hechura pintosa
8. de tu petit-gris.
9. Que sos la garufa
10. en los jarandones
11. y en regios salones
12. bailando triunfás
13. y entre el sabalaje
14. de viejos con guita
15. sos la milonguita
16. que nunca fallás.
17. Muñequita...
18. que paseas envuelta en seda
19. ojalá nunca pueda
20. ver a tus ojos llorar.
21. Mujercita...
22. que en tu loco aturdimiento
23. vas perdiendo el sentimiento
24. sin quererlo remediar.
25. Vendiendo caricias
26. pasás por la vida
27. un poco aburrida
28. y un poco feliz,
29. llevando en tus labios
30. tu risa graciosa
31. y un poco orgullosa
32. de tu petit-gris.
33. Te miro, pebeta,
34. cubierta de alhajas
35. ¡qué rápido bajas
36. hacia el lodazal!
37. Tejiendo caprichos
38. con tu fantasía
39. y olvidando el día
40. del Juicio Final.

(Cadícamo "Pebeta")

Percal

Year: 1943

Lyricist: Homero Expósito

Composer: Domingo Federico

1. Percal...
2. ¿Te acuerdas del percal?
3. Tenias quince abriles,
4. anhelos de sufrir y amar,
5. de ir al centro, triunfar
6. y olvidar el percal...
7. Percal...
8. Camino del percal
9. te fuiste de tu casa.
10. Tal vez nos enteramos mal...
11. Solo se que al final
12. te olvidaste el percal...
13. La juventud se fue...
14. Tu casa ya no está...
15. Y en el ayer, tirados,
16. han quedado,
17. acobardados,
18. tu percal y mi pasado.
19. La juventud se fue...
20. Yo ya no espero más...
21. Mejor dejar, perdidos,
22. los anhelos que no han sido
23. y el vestido de percal.
24. Llorar...
25. ¿Por qué vas a llorar?...
26. ¿Acaso no has vivido?
27. ¿Acaso no aprendiste a amar,
28. a sufrir, a esperar,
29. y también a callar?
30. Percal...
31. Son cosas del percal...
32. Saber que estás sufriendo
33. saber que sufrirás aún más
34. y saber que al final
35. no olvidaste el percal.
36. Percal...
37. Tristeza del percal...

(Gobello *Letras* 244-45; Romano 329-31)

Pero yo sé

Year: 1928

Lyricist: Azucena Maizani

Composer: Azucena Maizani

1. Llegando la noche
2. recién te levantas
3. y sales ufano
4. a buscar un beguén.
5. Lucís con orgullo
6. tu estampa elegante
7. sentado muy muelle
8. en tu regia baqué.
9. Paseás por Corrientes,
10. paseas por Florida,
11. te das una vida
12. mejor que un pachá.
13. De regios programas
14. tenés a montones,
15. Con clase y dinero
16. de todo tendrás.
17. Pero yo sé que metido
18. vivís penando un querer,
19. que querés hallar olvido
20. cambiando tanta mujer.
21. Yo sé que en las madrugadas
22. cuando las farras dejás
23. sentís tu pecho oprimido
24. por un recuerdo querido
25. y te pones a llorar.
26. Con tanta aventura,
27. con toda tu andanza,
28. llevaste tu vida
29. tan sólo al placer.
30. Con todo el dinero
31. que siempre has tenido,
32. todos tus caprichos
33. lograste vencer.
34. Pensar que ese brillo
35. que fácil ostentas
36. no sabe la gente
37. que es puro disfraz.
38. Tu orgullo de necio
39. muy bien los engaña,
40. No quieres que nadie
41. lo sepa jamás.

(Gobello *Letras* 149-50; Romano 145-46)

Pinta Brava

Year: 1925

Lyricist: Mario Battistella

Composer: Juan Carlos Pérez de la Riestra (pseudonym: Charlo)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Quién te juna, quién te embroca, | 25. El dorima que te echaste, |
| 2. Pinta Brava presumida, | 26. con un feite en el escracho, |
| 3. pa' largarte por Florida | 27. cada vez que está borracho |
| 4. como un Ford a patinar. | 28. la presume de matón. |
| 5. ¿No manyás, che pelandruna, | 29. Y es un ñorse tan amargo, |
| 6. que te vende de muy lejos | 30. que una noche, en la cortada, |
| 7. esa piel de zorro viejo | 31. lo asustó con la parada |
| 8. más pelada que Alvear? | 32. hasta el loco Napoleón. |
| 9. Despitá, no seas chitrula, | 33. No podés meter la mula, |
| 10. que te está enfocando el cana. | 34. son al cohete tantas mañas, |
| 11. No vengas buscando lana | 35. Lechuceando a las arañas |
| 12. con la raca que tenés. | 36. te empacaste. ¡Ya lo ves! |
| 13. Se te manya el expediente, | 37. Pa' de sedas... pa' de alhajas... |
| 14. hasta el modo en que patinas, | 38. Mucho viento en la sesera |
| 15. vos podrás vender sardinas | 39. y en tu cuarto la catrera |
| 16. pero amor, ¡Ni lo soñes! | 40. que rezonga a tu vejez. |
| | |
| 17. Pinta Brava, | |
| 18. No te olvides del pasado | |
| 19. cuando ibas al mercado | |
| 20. a comprar el "stokafisch"... | |
| 21. Engrupida, | |
| 22. te saliste de sirvienta | |
| 23. para ser, al fin de cuenta, | |
| 24. Pinta Brava una infeliz. | |

(Romano 79-80)

Pipistrela

Year: 1933

Lyricist: Fernando Ochoa

Composer: Francisco Canaro

1. El botón de la esquina de casa,
2. cuando salgo a barrer la vadera,
3. se me acerca el canalla y me dice:
4. "¡Pts! ¡Pipistrela! ¡Pts! ¡Pipistrela!"
5. Tengo un coso ar mercao que me mira,
6. que es un tano engrupido'e crioyo;
7. yo le pongo lo' ojo' p'arriba
8. y endemientra le afano un repoyo.

9. Me llaman la Pipistrela
10. y yo me dejo llamar;
11. es mejor pasar por gila
12. si una es viva de verdá.
13. Soy una piba con clase,
14. manyen qué linda mujer...
15. ¡La pinta que Dios me ha dado,
16. la tengo que hacer valer!

17. Ya estoy seca de tantos mucamos,
18. cocineros, botones y guardas;
19. yo me paso la vida esperando
20. y no llega... el otario...
21. Yo quisiera tener mucho vento
22. pa' comprarme o sombrero y zapato,
23. añaparme algún coso del centro
24. pa' dejar esta manga de patos...

(Ochoa)

Pobre milonga

Year: 1923

Lyricist: Manuel Romero

Composer: Manuel Jovés

1. ¡Milonguera! Lo quiso tu suerte
2. y siempre pa' todos milonga serás...
3. Hasta que te sorprenda la muerte,
4. ni amor, ni consuelo, ni nada
tendrás...
5. Milonga,
6. nadie cree que sos buena;
7. tu martirio se prolonga
8. y se ríen de tu pena.
9. Milonga,
10. tenés que seguir cantando
11. aunque tu dolor se oponga,
12. pues si ven que estás llorando,
13. Milonga,
14. todos dicen que es chiqué...
15. ¡Pobre Milonga!
16. Es inútil que pretendas escaparte...
17. ¡Pobre muchacha!
18. No hallarás quien se interese por
salvarte.
19. ¡Siempre Milonga
20. has de morir!
21. Condenada a ser capricho,
22. a no ser jamás mujer...
23. Pisoteada por el mundo
24. ¡qué mal fin vas a tener!...
25. ¡Milonguera! Tu amor entregaste
26. a un hombre que nunca lo supo
apreciar;
27. para él fuiste la eterna milonga
28. que sabe tan sólo beber y bailar.
29. Llorando
30. le pedías que creyera
31. en tu pena tan sincera
32. y él decía desconfiado:
33. Milonga,
34. ¿qué ganás con engrupirme
35. que tu amor es puro y firme?
36. ¡Salí de ahí, que estas borracha!...
37. Muchacha,
38. no bebás tanto champán...
39. ¡Pobre Milonga!
40. Tu tristeza y tu dolor nadie
comprende...
41. ¡Pobre Milonga!
42. Para todos sos un cuerpo que se
vende,
43. frágil muñeca sin corazón...
44. Sin embargo, por las noches,
45. en las casas de pensión,
46. interrumpen el silencio
47. tus sollozos de dolor...

(Gobello, *Letras* 70-72)

¿Por qué soy reo?

Year: 1929

Lyricist: Manual A. Meañes y Juan M. Velich

Composer: Herminia Velich de Rossano

1. Yo soy reo sin ambiente,
2. no caí por una mina
3. ni me sepultó en la ruina
4. el ser taura o gigoló.
5. No fui guapo prepotente
6. de una fama comentada
7. que, una noche en la cortada,
8. un rival me destronó.

9. Yo soy un pobre reo
10. sin cuento ni leyenda,
11. no tengo quién me venda
12. cariño ni ilusión.
13. Es mi único deseo
14. pasarla en la catrera,
15. no tengo quién me quiera
16. sino un perro rabón.
17. En mi bulín mistongo
18. no hay cintas, ni moñitos
19. ni aquellos retratitos
20. que cita la canción;
21. no escucho ni el rezongo
22. de un fuelle que se queja;
23. no tengo pena vieja,
24. ni preocupación.

25. Observando que la gente
26. rinde culto a la mentira,
27. y el amor, con que se mira
28. al que goza de poder;
29. descreído, indiferente,
30. insensible, todo niego;
31. para mi la vida es juego
32. de ganar o de perder.

(Gobello *Letras* 162-63)

Primer agua

Year: 1928

Lyricist: María Luisa Carnelli (Mario Castro)

Composer: Francisco de Caro

1. Del arrabal un día salió
2. y al asfalto del centro enderezó.
3. Pa cabuliar
4. el marroquín
5. abandonó el mistongo cafetín.
6. Cuando rajó, la cusifai
7. quedó cantando triste el ay, ay, ay
8. y en el cuarto sin luz
9. aún llora el repeluz
10. del mozo pierna y forfait.

11. Pa gambetearle a la mishiadura
12. entró a trabajarla de engrupidor;
13. a un mixto le dio en la matadura
14. y de prepo al hembraje conquistó.
15. Hoy es un primer agua, rante a la gurda,
16. con fama bien sentada de fajador;
17. pela la fariñera en la zurda
18. cuando juna, broncando, una traición.

19. Del arrabal un día salió
20. y al asfalto del centro enderezó.
21. Se rechifló,
22. y eso está bien,
23. estufo de pasarla sín toven.
24. Achacador, rey del gotán,
25. hoy es un primer agua, un bacán...
26. Y ¡por algo ligó
27. la flor en el debut!
28. ¡Porteño hasta el caracú!

(M. Castro)

¡Qué calamidad!

Year: 1925

Lyricist: Pascual Contursi

Composer: Bernardino Terés

1. Mientras yo me la paso planchando,
2. te arreglo la ropa y limpio el bulín,
3. estirao a lo largo 'e la cama
4. como un atorrante tranquilo dormís
5. Si te hablo te hacés el cabrero,
6. pedís unos mates y vas pa'l café
7. pa'que sepan tus cuatro amigotes
8. que a ti no te manda ninguna mujer.

9. Si a lo menos me engrupieras
10. y en tu pecho guardaras pa' mí
11. un cachito de cariño,
12. que es lo menos que puedo pedir.
13. Si te hablo con ternura
14. del cotorro enseguida te vas
15. y doblando el sombrero a los ojos
16. bailando un tanguito alegre te vas.
17. ¡Que calá, que calá,
18. Qué calamidad!
19. ¡Que calarse el fungui,
20. que calarse el fungui
21. hasta la mitad!

22. Pa'que duermas tranquilo te dejo
23. solito en la cama y me pongo a planchar
24. y pensando en el tiempo pasado
25. me acuerdo de todo y me pongo a llorar,
26. Mientras vos, al llegar el domingo
27. te vas a Palermo tranquilo a jugar,
28. yo le ruego a la Virgen que ganes
29. pa' verte contento... Pa' eso, nomás.

(Gobello *Letras* 92-93)

Que sí que no

Year: 1872-1943 (unknown)

Lyricist: Eloísa D'Herbil De Silva

Composer: Eloísa D'Herbil De Silva

1. (Él)
2. Que sí, que no
3. que no, que sí
4. que sólo, sólo,
5. que sólo, sólo,
6. te quiero a ti.
7. (Ella)
8. Que no, que sí
9. que sí, que no
10. que así te quiero,
11. te quiero, te quiero,
12. te quiero yo.
13. (Él)
14. Que sí, que no
15. que no, que sí
16. que mis suspiros,
17. suspiros, suspiros,
18. son para ti.
19. (Ella)
20. Que no, que sí
21. que sí, que no.
22. También suspiro,
23. suspiro, suspiro,
24. suspiro yo.
25. (Él)
26. Que sí, que no
27. que sí será.
28. Cuanto te canto,
29. te canto, te canto,
30. para verdad.
31. (Ella)
32. Que no, que sí
33. que sí, que no,
34. si vos mentís mucho,
35. que mucho, que mucho más
36. miento yo.
37. Y unos afilando
38. y otros desfilando,
39. se afilan, se afilan,
40. afilador
41. la piedra rodando,
42. rodando que afila,
43. que afila,
44. tú serás que es un primor.
45. Y ellos y ellas
46. cortando, pinchando,
47. se afilan, se afilan,
48. que sí, que no.
49. Y al fin todos
50. cantan la piedra rodando,
51. si vos mentís mucho,
52. más miento yo.

(D'Herbil "Que sí")

Recuerdos de bohemia

Year: 1935

Lyricist: Manuel Romero

Composer: Enrique Delfino

1. Fui tu amor primero tu Manón y tu Griseta,
2. fui la inspiradora de tus sueños de poeta,
3. fui la compañera
4. lírica y sincera
5. fuente de entusiasmo y de fervor.
6. Hoy que ya has triunfado me separo de tu vida.
7. Hoy me haces a un lado de tu senda florecida.
8. No te apiada mi dolor
9. y de la gloria en el dintel
10. olvidas que te dio el laurel
11. mi amor.

12. Dime por qué, por qué olvidar
13. que yo hice florecer
14. tu primavera.
15. Por qué
16. tu corazón me abandonó.
17. Por qué
18. tu mano me alejó.
19. Dime por qué, por qué, dejar
20. a quién te dio su ser
21. su vida entera.
22. Por qué
23. pagaste así cruel con tu rigor
24. todo mi amor.

25. Vuelve a mi recuerdo tu bohemia de estudiante.
26. Yo a tu lado siempre como madre y como amante.
27. Lámpara encendida
28. fui para tu vida
29. cántico de fe para tu ardor.
30. Hoy dominan tu alma la ambición y las pasiones,
31. corres embriagado tras de nuevas ilusiones.
32. Mas si un día de dolor
33. te hiere el latigazo cruel,
34. no olvides que te espera fiel
35. mi amor.

(Romero)

Sangre bohemia

Year: 1929

Lyricist: Francisco Brancatti

Composer: A. Trípodí

1. De mi andariega gitana,
2. que por tu sangre bohemia,
3. este dolor que me apremia
4. tu me sabrás mitigar.
5. Si en tu virtud yo confío,
6. con suerte de mi estrella,
7. y dime dónde esta ella,
8. que no la puedo encontrar.

9. Hace tiempo que se fue
10. y al volver este dolor,
11. perdió mi corazón la fe
12. la paz y hasta el valor.
13. Jura hacerlo por tu Dios,
14. miénteme una ilusión,
15. mas si un indicio fiel
16. me sabes dar
17. será mi salvación.

18. Honra gitana tu raza,
19. que al borde estoy del abismo,
20. pues sin gastar egoísmo
21. dime con quién se fugó.
22. ¡Ay, si la vieran tus ojos,
23. dirías emocionada,
24. que es una virgen sagrada
25. que del cielo se voló!

(Brancatti "Sangre")

Se cortó la redoblona

Year: 1916-1943

Lyricist: Luis Roldán

Composer: Antonio Scatasso

1. En tu vida de milonga,
2. pa' triunfar a toda costa,
3. fuiste grela la más posta,
4. más diquera que un bacán
5. y acoplaste tu ventura
6. a la suerte de un gilberto,
7. a quien yo llevaba muerto
8. desde el pique sin peinar.

9. Hoy que estás enfarolada,
10. que juntaste mucho vento,
11. me largás a barlovento,
12. de mi pinta te esgunfiás,
13. porque lo cachaste al merlo
14. y está el boncha más metido
15. que peludo dolorido
16. en la cueva de tu amor.

17. Se cortó la redoblona,
18. me fallaste a la cabeza,
19. me dejaste de una pieza
20. sin saber dónde rumbiar,
21. pero luego, más sereno,
22. tu aspamento me dio risa,
23. que hasta en eso se precisa
24. tener cancha pa sobrar...

25. Me ganaste en la llegada,
26. garabita la piú bella...
27. Continúa la cinderella
28. ya que el juego se te dio...
29. Y mañana si te amuran,
30. cuando se aburra el otario,
31. si vos me creés necesario,
32. ya sabes donde estoy yo.

(Roldán "Se cortó")

Sentencia

Year: 1923

Lyricist: Celedonio Esteban Flores

Composer: Pedro Maffia

1. La audiencia de pronto
2. se quedó en silencio;
3. de pie, como un roble,
4. con acento claro
5. hablaba el malevo:
6. “Yo nací, señor juez, en el suburbio,
7. suburbio triste de la enorme pena,
8. en el fango social donde una noche
9. asentara su rancho la miseria.
10. De muchacho, no más, hurgué en el
- cieno
11. donde van a podrirse las grandezas,
12. ¡Hay que ver, señor juez, cómo se
- vive
13. para saber después por qué se
- pena!
14. Un farol en una calle tristemente
- desolada
15. pone con la luz del foco su motivo
- de color.
16. El cariño de mi madre, de mi viejita
- adorada,
17. que por santa merecía, señor juez,
- ser venerada,
18. en la calle de mi vida fue como luz
- de farol.
19. Y piense, si aquella noche, cuando
- oí que aquel malvado
20. escupió sobre sus canas el concepto
- bajo y cruel,
21. hombre a hombre, sin ventaja, por
- el cariño cegado,
22. por mi cariño de hijo, por mi cariño
- sagrado,
23. sin pensar, loco de rabia, como un
- hombre lo maté.
24. Olvide usted un momento sus
- deberes
25. y deje hablar la voz de la
- conciencia.
26. Deme después, como hombre y
- como hijo
27. los años de presidio que usted
- quiera,
28. y si va a sentenciarme por las leyes
29. aquí estoy para aguantarme la
- sentencia...
30. pero cuando oiga maldecir a su
- vieja,
31. ¡es fácil, señor juez, que se
- arrepienta!...”
32. La audiencia, señores,
33. se ahogaba en silencio,
34. llorando el malevo,
35. ¡lloraba su pena
36. el alma del pueblo!

(Romano 54-55)

Sentimiento gaucho

Year: 1924

Lyricist: Juan Andrés Caruso

Composer: Francisco and Rafael Canaro

1. En un viejo almacén del Paseo Colón
2. donde van los que tienen perdida la fe,
3. todo sucio, harapiento, una tarde encontré
4. a un borracho sentado en oscuro rincón.
5. Al mirarle sentí una profunda emoción
6. porque en su alma un secreto dolor adiviné
7. y, sentándome cerca, a su lado, le hablé,
8. y él, entonces, me hizo esta cruel confesión:
9. Sabe que es condición de varón el sufrir.
10. La mujer que yo quería con todo mi corazón
11. se me ha ido con un hombre que la supo seducir,
12. y aunque al irse mi alegría tras de ella se llevó,
13. no quisiera verla nunca, que en la vida sea feliz
14. con el hombre que la tiene pa' su bien... ¡O qué sé yo!
15. Porque todo aquel amor que por ella yo sentí
16. lo cortó de un solo tajo con el filo'e su traición.
17. Pero inútil, no puedo aunque quiera olvidar
18. el recuerdo de la que fue mi único amor,
19. para ella ha de ser como el trébol de olor
20. que perfuma al que la vida le va a arrancar.
21. Y si acaso algún día quisiera volver
22. a mi lado otra vez, yo la he de perdonar.
23. Si por celos un hombre a otro puede matar,
24. se perdona cuando habla muy fuerte el querer a cualquiera mujer.

(Gobello *Letras* 82; Romano 75-76)

Silbando

Year: 1923

Lyricist: José González Castillo

Composer: Cátulo Castillo and Sebastián Piana

1. Una calle en Barracas al Sud,
2. una noche de verano,
3. cuando el cielo es más azul
4. y más dulzón el canto del barco italiano...
5. Con su luz mortecina, un farol
6. en la sombra parpadea
7. y en un zaguán
8. está un galán
9. hablando con su amor...

10. Y, desde el fondo del Dock,
11. gimiendo en lánguido lamento,
12. el eco trae el acento
13. de un monótono acordeón,
14. y cruza el cielo el aullido
15. de algún perro vagabundo
16. y un reo meditabundo
17. va silbando una canción...

18. Una calle... Un farol... Ella y él... y, llegando sigilosa,
19. la sombra del hombre aquel
20. a quien lo traicionó una vez la ingrata moza...
21. Un quejido y un grito mortal
22. y, brillando entre la sombra,
23. el relumbrón con que un facón
24. da su tajo fatal...

25. Y desde el fondo del Dock,
26. gimiendo en lánguido LAMENTO,
27. el eco trae el acento
28. de un monótono acordeón...
29. Y, al son que el fuelle rezonga
30. y en el eco se prolonga
31. el alma de la milonga
32. va cantando su emoción.

(Gobello *Letras* 72-73; Romano 58-59)

Soy tremendo

Year: 1910

Lyricist: Ángel Gregorio Villoldo

Composer: Ángel Gregorio Villoldo

1. Soy el rubio más compadre,
2. más tremendo y calavera,
3. y me bailo donde quiera
4. un tanguito de mi flor.
5. Como luz soy para el fierro
6. y sin mentirle, señores,
7. en las cuestiones de amores
8. afilo que da calor.

9. Tengo una morocha
10. en calle Suipacha
11. que es una muchacha
12. así com'il fó
13. y en calle Esmeralda
14. afilo a una chica
15. ¡qué cosa más rica!
16. como ella no hay dos.

17. Y no hay moza que se me resista
18. si dos palabras le digo yo;
19. se me viene como gato al bofe
20. pero regalos jamás le doy.

(Gobello *Letras* 27)

Talán talán

Year: 1924

Lyricist: Alberto Vaccarezza

Composer: Enrique Delfino

1. Talán, talán, talán...
2. pasa el tranvía por Tucumán.
3. "Prensa", "Nación" y "Argentina"
4. gritan los pibes de esquina a esquina.
5. "Ranca e mañana, torano e pera"
6. ya viene el tano por la vedera.
7. Detrás del puerto
8. se asoma el día,
9. ya van los pobres
10. a trabajar,
11. y a casa vuelven
12. los calaveras
13. y milongueras
14. a descansar.
15. Talán, talán, talán...
16. sigue el tranvía por Tucumán.
17. Del acoplado en un banco
18. muy pensativo viaja don Juan,
19. un viejo criollo que hace treinta años
20. en las estibas se gana el pan.
21. Está muy triste
22. desde aquel día
23. que su hija mala
24. dejó el hogar
25. siguiendo el paso
26. de aquel canalla
27. que por su puerta
28. lo vio rondar.
29. Talán, talán, talán...
30. se va el tranvía por Tucumán.
31. Pero al llegar cerca 'el bajo
32. un auto abierto se ve cruzar,
33. en el que vuelve la desdichada
34. medio dopada de humo y champán.
35. El pobre viejo
36. la reconoce
37. y del tranvía se va a largar,
38. pero hay amigos
39. que lo contienen
40. y el auto corre...
41. no se ve más.
42. Talán, talán...
43. pobre don Juan.

(Romano 77-78)

Tata, levame pa'l centro

Year: 1929

Lyricist: Enrique P. Maroni

Composer: Félix Scolati Almeyda

1. ¡Tata!, Llevame pa' l centro
2. Que aquí estoy muy aburrida.
3. Le tengo bronca a la vida
4. Ya no puedo aguantar más.
5. Todos los días lo mismo...
6. Que a la cocina, a la feria...
7. Pucha digo, ¡Qué miseria!
8. ¡Qué hacés que no me llevás!

9. Poneme un apartamento
10. Como tienen los bacanes,
11. Con "pufis" y con divanes
12. Pa' poderla apolillar.
13. Un regio cuarto de baño
14. Con el líquido caliente,
15. Porque si voy a otro ambiente
16. Yo me tengo que bañar.

17. Comprame una "chaiselonge"
18. Con "ciertopelo" granate,
19. Pa' tirarme a tomar mate
20. A la hora del "faicloté".
21. Y en algún día lluvioso
22. Entre torta y torta frita,
23. Soñar que un fifí con guita
24. Me pianta en su "voituré".

25. Me da vueltas la sesera
26. Un montón de cosas raras.
27. Me aburren las mismas caras
28. Quiero ir pa' la ciudad.
29. Llevame tata, pa' l centro...
30. No te hagás de rogar tanto,
31. Si no me llevás, me pianto
32. Y después vas a llorar.

(Maroni)

Tiempos viejos

Year: 1926

Lyricist: Manuel Romero

Composer: Francisco Canaro

1. ¡Te acordás, hermano, qué tiempos aquéllos!
2. Eran otros hombres, más hombres los nuestros.
3. No se conocían cocó ni morfina,
4. los muchachos de antes no usaban gomina.
5. ¡Te acordás, hermano, qué tiempos aquéllos!
6. Veinticinco abriles que no volverán.
7. Veinticinco abriles, volver a tenerlos...
8. ¡Si cuando me acuerdo me pongo a llorar!

9. ¿Dónde están los muchachos de entonces?
10. Barra antigua de ayer ¿dónde están?
11. Yo y vos solos quedamos, hermano,
12. yo y vos solos para recordar...
13. ¿Te acordás las mujeres aquellas,
14. minas fieles de gran corazón,
15. que en los bailes de Laura peleaban
16. cada cual defendiendo su amor?

17. ¿Te acordás, hermano, la rubia Mireya
18. que quité en lo de Hansen al guapo Rivera?
19. Casi me suicido una noche por ella
20. y hoy es una pobre mendiga harapienta.
21. ¿Te acordás, hermano, lo linda que era?
22. Se formaba rueda pa' verla bailar.
23. Cuando por la calle la veo tan vieja
24. doy vuelta la cara y me pongo a llorar.

(Gobello *Letras* 121; Romano 102-03)

Traviesa

Year: 1926

Lyricist: Mario Battistella

Composer: Juan Carlos Pérez de la Riestra (pseudonym: Charlo)

1. Soy la paica de san Telmo,
2. la más taita y retrechera
3. mis amigas, las chismosas,
4. me cuerean sin cesar,
5. porque dicen que yo tengo
6. aserrín en la sesera
7. y que soy una fulera
8. que no sé ni caminar.
9. También dicen esas rantes
10. que soy fea y mal hablada,
11. que con este cuerpecito
12. a nadie puedo engrupir.
13. Mas si piensan ensillarme,
14. van muertas en la parada,
15. porque a mí nada me importa
16. de lo que puedan decir.
17. ¡Traviesa!
18. Me dicen las chismosas al pasar.
19. ¡Milonga!
20. ¿Qué quieren? No lo puedo
remediar.
21. La vida me encanta,
22. el tango y la milonga es mi placer.
23. ¡Paciencia, chismosas!
24. ¡Pues que le vachaché!
25. Una noche en el bailongo
26. de la parda doña Juana,
27. pelechada la francesa
28. mi gavión me presentó.
29. Era cosa de raíces,
30. pues mis humos de bacana
31. a todito el avispero
32. rantifuso alborotó.
33. El chamuyo a la sordina
34. cada vez iba aumentando,
35. hasta que rompió la orquesta
36. con un tango compadrón.
37. Y al quebrarme en sus compases
38. se me fueron achicando
39. como se achica el churrasco
40. al rescoldo del fogón.

(Battistella)

Uno y uno

Year: 1929

Lyricist: Lorenzo Juan Traverso

Composer: Julio Fava Pollero

1. Hace rato que te juno
2. que sos un gil a la gurda,
3. pretencioso cuando curda,
4. engrupido y charlatán.
5. Se te dio vuelta la taba;
6. hoy andás hecho un andrajo,
7. has descendido tan bajo
8. que ni bolilla te dan.
9. ¿Qué quedó de aquel jailefe
10. que en el juego del amor
11. decía siempre: "Mucha efe
12. me tengo pa' tayador"?
13. ¿Dónde están aquellos briyos
14. y de vento aquel pacoy,
15. que disqueabas, poligriyo,
16. con las minas del convoy?
17. ¿Y esos jetras tan costosos,
18. funyi y tarros de un color,
19. que de puro espamentoso
20. los tenías al por mayor?
21. ¿Y esas grelas que engrupido
22. te tenían con su amor?
23. ¿No manyás que vos has sido
24. un mishé de lo mejor?
25. Se acabaron esos saques
26. de cincuenta ganadores;
27. ya no hay tarros de colores
28. ni almuerzos en el Julien.
29. Ya no hay paddock en las carreras,
30. y hoy, si no te ve ninguno,
31. te acoplás con uno y uno...
32. ¡Qué distinto era tu tren!

(Gobello *Letras* 166-67; Romano 170-71)

Ventanita de arrabal

Year: 1927

Lyricist: Pascual Contursi

Composer: Antonio Scatasso

1. Ventanita de arrabal,
2. puede que algún día vuelva
3. si no te puedo olvidar.
4. Cuando estén tus hojas secas
5. abrazándome en tus rejas
6. nos pondremos a llorar.
7. En el barrio Caferata
8. en un viejo conventillo,
9. con los pisos de ladrillo
10. minga de puerta cancel,
11. donde van los organitos
12. su lamento rezongando,
13. está la piba esperando
14. que pase el muchacho aquél.
15. Aquél que solito
16. entró al conventillo,
17. echado en los ojos el
18. funghi marrón;
19. botín enterizo,
20. el cuello con brillo,
21. pidió una guitarra
22. y pa' ella cantó.
23. Aquél que un domingo
24. bailaron un tango;
25. aquel que le dijo:
26. "Me muero por vos".
27. Aquél que su almita
28. arrastró por el fango,
29. aquél que a la reja
30. más nunca volvió...
31. Ventanita del cotorro
32. donde sólo hay flores secas,
33. vos también abandonada
34. de aquel día... se quedó.
35. El rocío de sus hojas,
36. las garúas de la ausencia,
37. con el dolor de un suspiro
38. su tronquito destrozó.

(Gobello *Letras* 134; Romano 116-17)

Ventarrón

Year: 1932

Lyricist: José Horacio Staffolani

Composer: Pedro Maffia

1. Por tu fama, por tu estampa
2. sos el malevo mentado del hampa;
3. sos el más taura entre todos los tauras,
4. sos el mismo Ventarrón.
5. ¿Quién te iguala por tu rango
6. en las canyengues quebradas del tango,
7. en la conquista de los corazones,
8. si se da la ocasión?
9. Entre el malevaje,
10. Ventarrón a vos te llaman...
11. Ventarrón, por tu coraje,
12. por tus hazañas todos te aclaman...
13. A pesar de todo,
14. Ventarrón dejó Pompeya
15. y se fue tras de la estrella
16. que su destino le señaló.
17. Muchos años han pasado
18. y sus guapezas y sus berretines
19. los fue dejando por los cafetines
20. como un castigo de Dios.
21. Solo y triste, casi enfermo,
22. con sus derrotas mordiéndole el alma,
23. volvió el malevo buscando su fama
24. que otro ya conquistó.
25. Ya no sos el mismo,
26. Ventarrón, de aquellos tiempos.
27. Sos cartón para el amigo
28. y para el maula un pobre cristo.
29. Y al sentir un tango
30. compadrón y retobado,
31. recordás aquel pasado,
32. las glorias guapas de Ventarrón.

(Gobello *Letras* 192-93; Romano 234-35)

Victoria

Year: 1929

Lyricist: Enrique Santos Discépolo

Composer: Enrique Santos Discépolo

1. ¡Victoria!
2. ¡Saraca, Victoria!
3. Pianté de la noria:
4. ¡se fue mi mujer!...
5. Si me parece mentira
6. después de seis años
7. volver a vivir...
8. Volver a ver mis amigos,
9. vivir con mama otra vez...
10. ¡Victoria!
11. ¡Cantemos victoria!
12. Yo estoy en la gloria:
13. ¡Se fue mi mujer!
14. Me saltaron los tapones,
15. cuando tuve esta mañana
16. la alegría de no verla más.
17. Y es que al ver que no la tengo,
18. corro, salto, voy y vengo,
19. desatentao... ¡Gracias a Dios
20. que me salvé de andar
21. toda la vida atao
22. llevando el bacalao
23. de la Emulsión de Scott...!
24. Si no nace el marinero
25. que me tira la pilota
26. para hacerme resollar...
27. yo ya estaba condeno
28. a morir ensartenao,
29. como el último infeliz.
30. ¡Victoria!
31. ¡Saraca, victoria!
32. Pianté de la noria:
33. ¡se fue mi mujer!
34. Me da tristeza el panete,
35. chicato inocente
36. que se la llevó...
37. ¡Cuando desate el paquete
38. y manye que se ensartó!
39. ¡Victoria!
40. ¡Cantemos victoria!
41. Yo estoy en la gloria:
42. ¡se fue mi mujer!

(Romano 166-67)

Vida bohemia

Year: c. 1900 - 1930

Lyricist: Rafael D'Agostino and Ricardo García

Composer: Rafael D'Agostino and Ricardo García

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Cuando allá en el arrabal | 21. Fue una tarde que esperaba |
| 2. ibas paica de chancletas | 22. que salieras del laburo, |
| 3. y te hacías la coqueta | 23. y batirte que te amaba |
| 4. con un mugre delantal. | 24. más que nunca en mi pasión. |
| 5. Fui tu amor sentimental, | 25. Te esperé... mas no viniste, |
| 6. fui tu cariño profundo, | 26. me dijeron de tu huida |
| 7. y para vos en el mundo | 27. con un viejo a quien seguiste |
| 8. como yo no había otro igual. | 28. por el vento que ofreció, |
| 9. ¡Cuando paica de chancletas, | 29. en un mundo de mentiras |
| 10. ibas por el arrabal!... | 30. que a mi ayer desvaneció. |
| 11. Ahora es otra tu ilusión, | 31. Ya sin virtud ni amor... |
| 12. tus ideales ya cambiaron. | 32. te sentiste hoy mujer, |
| 13. ¡Tu corazón me robaron | 33. porque ya fuiste arrojada |
| 14. ya no soy tu corazón!... | 34. donde no tendrás vejez. |
| 15. Te espantastes, porque creíste | 35. Esas sedas que vestís |
| 16. que la bohemia en que vivías, | 36. al final has de llorar, |
| 17. era pobre su alegría | 37. ¡son esos brillos fugaces |
| 18. y que el mundo era mayor... | 38. pedazos de tu honradez!... |
| 19. sin pensar que te quería | |
| 20. y cuan grande era mi amor. | |

(D'Agostino and García)

Viejo ciego

Year: 1925

Lyricist: Homero Manzi

Composer: Sebastián Piana

1. Con un lazarillo llegás por las noches
2. trayendo las quejas del viejo violín,
3. y en medio del humo
4. parece un fantoche
5. tu rara silueta
6. de flaco rocín.
7. Puntual parroquiano tan viejo y tan ciego,
8. al ir destrenzando tu eterna canción,
9. ponés en las almas
10. recuerdos añejos
11. y un poco de pena mezclás al alcohol.

12. El día en que se apaguen tus tangos quejumbrosos
13. tendrá crespones de humo la luz del callejón,
14. y habrá en los naipes sucios un sello misterioso
15. y habrá en las almas simples un poco de emoción.
16. El día en que no se oiga la voz de tu instrumento
17. cuando dejés los huesos debajo de un portal
18. los bardos jubilados, sin falso sentimiento
19. con una canzonetta te harán el funeral.

20. Parecés un verso
21. del loco Carriego
22. parecés el alma
23. del mismo violín.
24. Puntual parroquiano tan viejo y tan ciego,
25. tan llena de pena, tan lleno de esplín.
26. Cuando oigo tus notas
27. me invade el recuerdo
28. de aquella muchacha
29. de tiempos atrás.
30. A ver, viejo ciego, tocá un tango lerdo
31. muy lerdo y muy triste que quiero llorar.

(Romano 87-88)

Viejo rincón

Year: 19125

Lyricist: Roberto Lino Cayol

Composer: Raúl de los Hoyos

1. Viejo rincón de mis primeros tangos,
2. donde ella me batió que me quería;
3. Guarida de cien noches de fandango
4. que en mi memoria viven todavía...
5. ¡Oh, callejón de turbios caferatas
6. que fueron taitas del mandolión!
7. ¿Dónde estará mi garçonnière de lata,
8. testigo de mi amor y su traición?
9. Hoy vuelvo al barrio que dejé
10. y al campanearlo me da pena...
11. no tengo ya mi madrecita buena,
12. mi rancho es una ruina; ya todo se acabó.
13. Porque creí —loco de mí—,
14. por ella di mi vida entera...
15. También mi fe se convirtió en tapera
16. y sólo siento ruinas latir dentro de mí.
17. De un tango el vaivén
18. da vida a un amor;
19. de un tango al vaivén
20. nos hacen traición.
21. Cuando te quiebras en una sentada
22. juntando tu carita con la mía,
23. yo siento que en la hoguera de algún tango
24. se va a quemar mi sangre el mejor día.
25. Viejo rincón de turbios caferatas,
26. que fueron taitas del mandolión,
27. ¿dónde estará mi garçonnière de lata,
28. bulín mistongo que fue mi perdición?
29. Del fuelle al son, suena un violín
30. en el tablado de una cantina,
31. y en un bulín que está al doblar la esquina
32. los taitas aprovechan el tango tentador.
33. ¿Pa qué soñar? ¿Pa qué volví
34. al callejón de mis quereres,
35. a revivir el mal de esas mujeres,
36. sus risas, sus caricias, la farsa de su amor?
37. De un tango el vaivén
38. da vida a un amor;
39. de un tango al vaivén
40. nos hacen traición.

(Gobello *Letras* 93-94, Romano 81-82)

Viejo smoking

Year: 1930

Lyricist: Celedonio Esteban Flores

Composer: Guillermo D. Barbieri

1. Campaneá cómo el cotorro va quedando despoblado,
2. todo el lujo es la catrera compadreando sin colchón,
3. y mirá este pobre mozo cómo ha perdido el estado,
4. amargado, pobre y flaco como perro de botón.
5. Poco a poco todo ha ido de cabeza p'al empeño,
6. se dio juego de pileta y hubo que echarse a nadar;
7. Sólo vos te vas salvando porque pa' mi sos un sueño
8. del que quiera Dios que nunca me vengan a despertar.
9. Viejo smocking de los tiempos
10. en que yo también tallaba,
11. cuánta papusa garaba
12. en tus solapas lloró;
13. solapas que con su brillo
14. parece que encandilaban
15. y que donde iba sentaban
16. mi fama de gigoló.
17. Yo no siento la tristeza de saberme derrotado
18. y no me amarga el recuerdo de mi pasado esplendor;
19. no me arrepiento del viento ni los años que he tirado,
20. pero lloro al verme solo, sin amigos, sin amor.
21. Sin una mano que venga a llevarme una parada,
22. sin una mujer que alegre el resto de mi vivir...
23. Vas a ver que un día de éstos te voy a poner de almohada
24. y, tirao en la catrera, me voy a dejar morir.
25. Viejo smocking, cuántas veces
26. la milonguera más papa
27. el brillo de tu solapa
28. de estuque y carmín manchó
29. y en mis desplantes de guapo
30. cuántos llantos te mojaron
31. cuántos taitas envidiaron
32. mi fama de gigoló

(Gobello *Letras* 185-6; Romano 185-86)

Yo soy la rubia

Year: c. 1905

Lyricist: Eloísa D'Herbil de Silva y Barboza

Composer: Eloísa D'Herbil de Silva y Barboza

1. Yo soy la rubia gentil
2. La de los cabellos de oro,
3. La que conserva un tesoro
4. En su lánguido mirar.
5. Yo soy la rubia ideal
6. La que soñando la vida,
7. A sus placeres convida
8. Con su risa angelical.
9. Tengo la gracia de la porteña
10. Tengo de la francesa todo su chic,
11. De la española tengo el salero
12. Y de la rubia inglesa su dulce flirt.
13. Soy cariñosa, soy hacendosa
14. ¡Y sé hacer unas cosas...!
15. Que sí...
16. Que no...
17. Cantar, bailar, coser, bordar
18. Y un mate amargo también cebar.
19. Yo soy la rubia Mimí
20. La que en su alma atesora
21. Como reflejos de aurora
22. Todo un cielo de esplendor,
23. La que comprende el amor
24. Como ninguna en la Tierra,
25. Que en su corazón encierra
26. Todo un mundo de pasión.
27. Por eso canto, por eso lloro
28. Por eso soy la rosa, soy el clavel,
29. Soy la palmera de esbelto tallo
30. Y soy la sensitiva para querer.
31. Soy cariñosa, soy hacendosa
32. ¡Y sé hacer unas cosas...!
33. Que sí...
34. Que no...
35. Cantar, bailar, coser, bordar
36. Y un café sin azúcar también sé dar.

(D'Herbil de Silva y Barboza)

APPENDIX 3. Average Marginal Effects

Appendix 3.1. Tables of AME Values for Category A, *Amor y desamor* in Chapter Five

These tables are copied from chapter five, and the table numbers are as they appear in that chapter. The tables are shown in the order in which they are discussed in chapter five.

Table 40 *AME Values for (MOW): A male has power over a/an X; A/n Y has power over a female in Category A*

<i>Terms for discourse prosody MOW, Cat. A</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody MOW, Cat. A</i>
<u>Female:</u>	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 16.48%
<i>mina</i> (L)	21.15%	16.15%
<i>milonguera</i> (L)	19.64%	15.00%
<u>Male:</u>		
<i>hombre</i> (S)	10.10%	7.71%

Table 41 *AME Values for (WOM): A/n X has power over a male; A female has power over a/n Y in Category A*

<i>Terms for discourse prosody WOM, Cat. A</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody WOM, Cat. A</i>
<u>Female:</u>	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 10.18%
<i>mujer</i> (S)	17.38%	8.20%
<i>percanta</i> (L)	16.32%	7.70%
<i>garabita</i> (L)	15.88%	7.49%
<i>mocosita</i> (L)	7.40%	3.49%
<u>Male:</u>		
n/a		

Table 42 AME Values for (A): A/n X or Y is materialistic, is avaricious in Category A

Terms for discourse prosody A, Cat. A	AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies	AME value of terms for discourse prosody A, Cat. A
Female:	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 5.30%
<i>mina</i> (L)	21.15%	5.20%
<i>milonguera</i> (L)	19.64%	4.83%
Male:		
n/a		

Table 43 AME Values for (S): A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something in Category A

Terms for discourse prosody S, Cat. A	AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies	AME value of terms for discourse prosody S, Cat. A
Female:	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 8.70%
<i>bacana</i> (L)	13.47%	5.43%
<i>madam</i> (L)	11.33%	4.57%
<i>grela</i> (L)	11.29%	4.55%
Male:		
n/a		

Table 44 AME Values for (WSM): A/n X seeks a male; A female seeks a/n Y in Category A

Terms for discourse prosody WSM, Cat. A	AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies	AME value of terms for discourse prosody WSM, Cat. A
Female:	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 4.93%
<i>piba</i> (L)	21.58%	4.93%
Male:		
<i>príncipe</i> (S)	5.69%	1.30%

Table 45 AME Values for (MSW): A/n Y seeks a female; A male seeks a/n X in Category A

Terms for discourse prosody MSW, Cat. A	AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies	AME value of terms for discourse prosody MSW, Cat. A
<u>Female:</u>	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 7.26%
<i>pebeta</i> (L)	18.12%	6.10%
<i>paica</i> (L)	17.92%	6.03%
<u>Male:</u>		
<i>taura</i> (L)	11.29%	3.80%
<i>novio</i> (S)	9.98%	3.36%

Table 46 AME Values for (MLW): A/n Y leaves a female or a place; A male leaves a/n X in Category A

Terms for discourse prosody MLW, Cat. A	AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies	AME value of terms for discourse prosody MLW, Cat. A
<u>Female:</u>	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 3.39%
<i>china</i> (L)	19.03%	2.99%
<u>Male:</u>		
<i>malevo</i> (L)	14.64%	2.30%
<i>hombres, hombre</i> (S)	10.10%	1.59%

Table 47 AME Values for (WLM): A/n X leaves a male or a place; A female leaves a/n Y in Category A

Terms for discourse prosody WLM, Cat. A	AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies	AME value of terms for discourse prosody WLM, Cat. A
Female:	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 12.80%
<i>piba</i> (L)	21.58%	12.80%
<i>mina</i> (L)	21.15%	12.54%
<i>china</i> (L)	19.03%	11.29%
<i>mujer, mujercita</i> (S)	17.38%	10.31%
<i>percanta</i> (L)	16.32%	9.68%
<i>hija</i> (S)	7.82%	4.64%
<i>mocosita</i> (S)	7.40%	4.39%
<i>ingrata</i> (S)	7.34%	4.36%
Male:		
n/a		

Table 48 AME Values for (I): A/n X or Y is unfaithful in Category A

Terms for discourse prosody I, Cat. A	AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies	AME value of terms for discourse prosody I, Cat. A
Female:	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 3.62%
<i>mujer</i> (S)	17.38%	2.92%
<i>moza</i> (S)	7.38%	1.24%
Male:		
<i>amigo</i> (S)	7.72%	1.30%

Table 49 AME Values for (F): A/n X or Y is faithful in Category A

Terms for discourse prosody F, Cat. A	AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies	AME value of terms for discourse prosody F, Cat. A
Female:	Upper limit based on AME for piba: 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for piba: 5.00%
<i>mujer</i> (S)	17.38%	4.02%
<i>moza</i> (S)	7.38%	1.71%
Male:		
<i>hombre</i> (S)	10.10%	2.34%
<i>amigo</i> (S)	7.72%	1.79%

Table 50 AME Values for Terms in "Se cortó la redoblona" in Category A

Terms (in order of appearance in lyric)	Discourse prosodies formed with this term in this lyric	AME value of this term for any & all discourse prosodies (upper limit based on AME of piba: 21.58%)	AME value of this term, for this discourse prosody, in this lyric	Upper limit based on AME of piba for this discourse prosody
<i>milonga</i> (L)	LB	19.64%	72.08%	79.18%
<i>grela</i> (L)	G	11.29%	22.16%	42.34%
	S	11.29%	4.55%	8.70%
<i>garabita</i> (L)	V	15.88%	35.44%	48.17%
	WOM	15.88%	7.49%	10.18%
<i>otario</i> (L)	QMB	8.76%	13.50%	33.25%

Appendix 3.2. Tables of AME Values for Category P, *Personajes* in Chapter Six

The following tables are referred to in chapter six and appear in the order in which they are discussed in the chapter.

Table 51 *AME Values for (WLM): A/n X leaves a male or a place; A female leaves a/n Y in Category P*

<i>Terms for discourse prosody WLM, Cat. P</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody WLM, Cat. P</i>
	Upper limit based on AME	Upper limit based on AME
Female:	for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	for <i>piba</i> : 12.80%
<i>muchacha</i> (S)	10.04%	5.96%
Male:		
n/a		

Table 52 *AME values for (A): A/n X or Y is materialistic, is avaricious in Category P*

<i>Terms for discourse prosody S, Cat. P</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody A, Cat. P</i>
	Upper limit based on AME for	Upper limit based on AME
Female:	<i>piba</i> : 21.58%	for <i>piba</i> : 5.30%
<i>mujer</i> (S)	17.38%	4.27%
Male:		
n/a		

Table 53 AME values for (S): A/n X or Y is ambitious, strives for something in Category P

<i>Terms for discourse prosody S, Cat. P</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody S, Cat. P</i>
	Upper limit based on AME for piba: 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for piba: 8.70%
Female:		
<i>papusa</i> (L)	16.99%	6.85%
<i>garaba</i> (L)	15.88%	6.40%
<i>bacana</i> (L)	13.47%	5.43%
<i>reina</i> (S)	12.92%	5.21%
<i>bataclana</i> (L)	6.85%	2.76%
Male:		
<i>rey</i> (S)	12.83%	5.17%

Table 54 AME Values for Terms in "Primer agua" in Category P

<i>Terms (in order of appearance in lyric)</i>	<i>Discourse prosodies formed with this term in this lyric</i>	<i>AME value of this term for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of this term, for this discourse prosody, in this lyric</i>	<i>Upper limit based on AME of piba for this discourse prosody</i>
<i>mozo</i> (S)	QMB	12.15%	18.72%	33.25%
	QMG	12.15%	23.93%	42.51%
	LB	12.15%	44.57%	79.18%
<i>rey</i> (S)	LB	12.83%	47.09%	79.18%
	B	12.83%	20.86%	35.07%
	T	12.83%	19.97%	33.58%
<i>bacán</i> (L)	G	9.00%	17.67%	42.34%

Table 55 AME Values for Terms in "Desde piba" in Category P

Terms (in order of appearance in lyric)	Discourse prosodies formed with this term in this lyric	AME value of this term for any & all discourse prosodies	AME value of this term, for this discourse prosody, in this lyric	Upper limit based on AME of piba for this discourse prosody
<i>piba</i> (L)	QMG	21.58%	42.51%	42.51%
	QMB	21.58%	33.25%	33.25%
	V	21.58%	48.17%	48.17%
<i>mina</i> (L)	QMB	21.15%	32.59%	33.25%
	G	21.15%	41.50%	42.34%
	POS	21.15%	12.68%	12.94%

Table 56 AME Values for (G): A/n X or Y is good or displays moral traits in Category P

Terms for discourse prosody G, Cat. P	AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies	AME value of terms for discourse prosody G, Cat. P
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 42.34%
Female:		
<i>piba</i> (L)	21.58%	42.34%
<i>china</i> (L)	19.03%	37.34%
<i>paica</i> (L)	17.92%	35.16%
<i>reina</i> (S)	12.92%	25.35%
<i>francesita</i> (S)	10.77%	21.14%
<i>muchacha</i> (S)	10.04%	19.71%
<i>rubia</i> (S)	6.37%	12.50%
<i>niña</i> (S)	4.87%	9.55%
Male:		
<i>bailarín</i> (S)	11.45%	22.48%
<i>garabo</i> (L)	10.21%	20.03%
<i>hombre</i> (S)	10.10%	19.82%
<i>hijo</i> (S)	9.54%	18.72%
<i>compadre</i> (L)	9.29%	18.22%
<i>varón</i> (S)	9.10%	17.86%
<i>bacán</i> (L)	9.00%	17.67%
<i>señor</i> (S)	7.75%	15.20%
<i>sargento</i> (S)	6.09%	11.95%

Table 57 AME Values for (LG): A/n X or Y has a positive or good lifestyle or behavior in Category P

Terms for discourse prosody LG, Cat. P	AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies	AME value of terms for discourse prosody LG, Cat. P
	Upper limit based on AME	Upper limit based on AME
Female:	for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	for <i>piba</i> : 44.24%
<i>reina</i> (S)	12.92%	26.49%
Male:		
<i>guapo</i> (L)	14.72%	30.18%
<i>rey</i> (S)	12.83%	26.32%
<i>mozo</i> (S)	12.15%	24.91%
<i>bailarín</i> (S)	11.45%	23.49%
<i>niño</i> (S)	11.38%	23.34%
<i>taura</i> (L)	11.29%	23.14%
<i>varón</i> (S)	9.10%	18.66%
<i>bacán</i> (L)	9.00%	18.46%
<i>mishé</i> (L)	8.76%	17.96%
<i>pibe</i> (L)	6.84%	14.02%
<i>rana</i> (L)	6.68%	13.71%
<i>dueño</i> (S)	6.64%	13.62%
<i>sargento</i> (S)	6.09%	12.49%

Table 58 AME Values for (QMG): A/n X or Y displays certain positive or good mental or emotional qualities in Category P

<i>Terms for discourse prosody QMG, Cat. P</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody QMG, Cat. P</i>
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 42.51%
Female:		
<i>china</i> (L)	19.03%	37.49%
<i>paica</i> (L)	17.92%	35.30%
<i>garaba</i> (L)	15.88%	31.28%
<i>rubia</i> (S)	6.37%	12.55%
Male:		
<i>taita</i> (L)	17.80%	35.07%
<i>guapo</i> (L)	14.72%	29.00%
<i>compadrito</i> (L)	12.18%	24.00%
<i>mozo</i> (S)	12.15%	23.93%
<i>compadrón</i> (L)	10.15%	19.99%
<i>hombre</i> (S)	10.10%	19.90%

Table 59 AME Values for (B): A/n X or Y is bad or displays immoral traits in Category P

<i>Terms for discourse prosody B, Cat. P</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody B, Cat. P</i>
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 35.07%
Female:		
<i>papusa</i> (L)	16.99%	27.62%
<i>reina</i> (S)	12.92%	21.00%
Male:		
<i>taita</i> (L)	17.80%	28.93%
<i>guapo</i> (L)	14.72%	23.93%
<i>malevo</i> (L)	14.64%	23.79%
<i>rey</i> (S)	12.83%	20.86%
<i>niño</i> (S)	11.38%	18.50%
<i>muchacho</i> (S)	8.89%	14.45%

Table 60 AME Values for (LB): A/n X or Y has a negative or bad lifestyle of behavior in Category P

<i>Terms for discourse prosody LB, Cat. P</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody LB, Cat. P</i>
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 79.18%
<u>Female:</u>		
<i>mina</i> (L)	21.15%	77.61%
<i>flor</i> (L)	13.57%	49.79%
<i>bacana</i> (L)	13.47%	49.45%
<i>reina</i> (S)	12.92%	47.41%
<i>pipistrela</i> (L)	8.61%	31.59%
<i>amiga</i> (S)	8.28%	30.39%
<u>Male:</u>		
<i>taita</i> (L)	17.80%	65.32%
<i>guapo</i> (L)	14.72%	54.02%
<i>malevo</i> (L)	14.64%	53.72%
<i>rey</i> (S)	12.83%	47.09%
<i>compadrito</i> (L)	12.18%	44.69%
<i>mozo</i> (S)	12.15%	44.57%
<i>bailarín</i> (S)	11.45%	42.03%
<i>niño</i> (S)	11.38%	41.76%
<i>taura</i> (L)	11.29%	41.41%
<i>garabo</i> (L)	10.21%	37.46%
<i>compadrón</i> (L)	10.15%	37.23%
<i>gil</i> (L)	9.40%	34.48%
<i>compadre</i> (L)	9.29%	34.08%
<i>varón</i> (S)	9.10%	33.39%
<i>muchacho</i>	8.89%	32.62%
<i>reo</i> (L)	8.88%	32.59%
<i>botón</i> (L)	8.73%	32.05%
<i>gigoló</i> (L)	7.88%	28.92%
<i>milonguero</i> (L)	6.80%	24.96%

Table 61 AME Values for (QMB): A/n X or Y displays certain negative or bad mental or emotional qualities in Category P

<i>Terms for discourse prosody QMB, Cat. P</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody QMB, Cat. P</i>
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 33.25%
Female:		
<i>piba</i> (L)	21.58%	33.25%
<i>mina</i> (L)	21.15%	32.59%
<i>paica</i> (L)	17.92%	27.60%
<i>reina</i> (S)	12.92%	19.91%
<i>francesita</i> (S)	10.77%	16.60%
<i>loca</i> (L)	10.50%	16.18%
Male:		
<i>guapo</i> (L)	14.72%	22.68%
<i>mozo</i> (S)	12.15%	18.72%
<i>niño</i> (S)	11.38%	17.54%
<i>gil</i> (L)	9.40%	14.48%
<i>bacán</i> (L)	9.00%	13.87%
<i>señor</i> (S)	7.75%	11.94%
<i>sargento</i> (S)	6.09%	9.38%

Table 62 AME Values for (IR): A/n X or Y is described ironically in Category P

<i>Terms for discourse prosody IR, Cat. P</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody IR, Cat. P</i>
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 4.76%
Female:		
<i>piba</i> (L)	21.58%	4.76%
Male:		
<i>malevo</i> (L)	14.64%	3.23%
<i>gil</i> (L)	9.40%	2.07%
<i>reo</i> (L)	8.88%	1.96%
<i>mishé</i> (L)	8.76%	1.93%
<i>rana</i> (L)	6.68%	1.48%

Table 63 AME Values for (V): A/n X or Y's appearance or physical traits are significant in Category P

<i>Terms for discourse prosody V, Cat. P</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody V, Cat. P</i>
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 48.17%
<u>Female:</u>		
<i>piba</i> (L)	21.58%	48.17%
<i>mina</i> (L)	21.15%	47.22%
<i>mujer</i> (S)	17.38%	38.80%
<i>reina</i> (S)	12.92%	28.84%
<i>francesita</i> (S)	10.77%	24.05%
<u>Male:</u>		
<i>malevo</i> (L)	14.64%	32.68%
<i>compadrito</i> (L)	12.18%	27.19%
<i>mozo</i> (S)	12.15%	27.12%
<i>bailarín</i> (S)	11.45%	25.57%
<i>compadre</i> (L)	9.29%	20.73%
<i>muchacho</i> (S)	8.89%	19.84%
<i>dueño</i> (S)	6.64%	14.83%

Table 64 AME Values for (POS): A/n X or Y acts as other than real self to impress others; A person acts as a/n X or Y to impress others in Category P

<i>Terms for discourse prosody POS, Cat. P</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody POS, Cat. P</i>
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 12.94%
<u>Female:</u>		
<i>mina</i> (L)	21.15%	12.68%
<u>Male:</u>		
<i>taita</i> (L)	17.80%	10.67%
<i>rey</i> (S)	12.83%	7.70%
<i>compadrito</i> (L)	12.18%	7.30%
<i>bailarín</i> (S)	11.45%	6.87%
<i>niño</i> (S)	11.38%	6.82%
<i>compadre</i> (L)	9.29%	5.57%
<i>bacán</i> (L)	9.00%	5.40%

Table 65 AME Values for (T): A/n X or Y participates in tango and its lifestyle in Category P

<i>Terms for discourse prosody T, Cat. P</i>	<i>AME value of terms for any & all discourse prosodies</i>	<i>AME value of terms for discourse prosody T, Cat. P</i>
	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 21.58%	Upper limit based on AME for <i>piba</i> : 33.58%
<u>Female:</u>		
<i>mujer</i> (S)	17.38%	27.04%
<i>reina</i> (S)	12.92%	20.10%
<i>francesita</i> (S)	10.77%	16.76%
<u>Male:</u>		
<i>guapo</i> (L)	14.72%	22.91%
<i>malevo</i> (L)	14.64%	22.78%
<i>rey</i> (S)	12.83%	19.97%
<i>compadrito</i> (L)	12.18%	18.95%
<i>mozo</i> (S)	12.15%	18.90%
<i>compadrón</i> (L)	10.15%	15.79%
<i>hijo</i> (S)	9.54%	14.84%
<i>compadre</i> (L)	9.29%	14.45%

Appendix 3.3. AME Values of Terms

These are the Average Marginal Effects (AME) values for the 80 terms in the study. The *lunfardo* term *piba* sets the benchmark (21.58%) against which the values of all other terms may be compared.

Table 66 *AME Values of Study Terms*

Rank	Term	AME Value (% Predictor)	Dataset
1	<i>piba</i>	21.58%	FL
2	<i>mina</i>	21.15%	FL
3	<i>milonga_milonguita_milonguera</i>	19.64%	FL
4	<i>china</i>	19.03%	FL
5	<i>pebeta</i>	18.12%	FL
6	<i>paica</i>	17.92%	FL
7	<i>taita</i>	17.80%	ML
8	<i>mujer</i>	17.38%	FS
9	<i>papusa</i>	16.99%	FL
10	<i>percanta</i>	16.32%	FL
11	<i>garaba</i>	15.88%	FL
12	<i>guapo</i>	14.72%	ML
13	<i>malevo</i>	14.64%	ML
14	<i>flor</i>	13.57%	FL
15	<i>bacana</i>	13.47%	FL
216	<i>reina</i>	12.92%	FS
17	<i>rey</i>	12.83%	MS
18	<i>compadrito</i>	12.18%	ML
19	<i>mozo</i>	12.15%	MS
20	<i>bailarin</i>	11.45%	MS
21	<i>nino</i>	11.38%	MS
22	<i>madam</i>	11.33%	FL
23	<i>grela</i>	11.29%	FL
24	<i>taura</i>	11.29%	ML
25	<i>callejera</i>	11.27%	FL
26	<i>muneca</i>	11.20%	FL
27	<i>francesa</i>	10.77%	FS
28	<i>loca</i>	10.50%	FL
29	<i>griseta</i>	10.39%	FL
30	<i>garabo</i>	10.21%	ML
31	<i>compadron</i>	10.15%	ML
32	<i>hombre</i>	10.10%	MS
33	<i>muchacha</i>	10.04%	FS

Rank	Term	AME Value (% Predictor)	Dataset
34	<i>novio</i>	9.98%	MS
35	<i>galleguita</i>	9.64%	FL
36	<i>hijo</i>	9.54%	MS
37	<i>gil</i>	9.40%	ML
38	<i>compadre</i>	9.29%	ML
39	<i>varon</i>	9.10%	MS
40	<i>vieja</i>	9.05%	FS
41	<i>padre</i>	9.03%	MS
42	<i>bacan</i>	9.00%	ML
43	<i>madre</i>	8.95%	FS
44	<i>viuda</i>	8.93%	FS
45	<i>muchacho</i>	8.89%	MS
46	<i>reo</i>	8.88%	ML
47	<i>otario</i>	8.76%	ML
48	<i>mishe_michet</i>	8.76%	ML
49	<i>boton</i>	8.73%	ML
50	<i>pipistrela</i>	8.61%	FL
51	<i>amiga</i>	8.28%	FS
52	<i>gigolo</i>	7.88%	ML
53	<i>hija</i>	7.82%	FS
54	<i>senor</i>	7.75%	MS
55	<i>amigo</i>	7.72%	MS
56	<i>viejo</i>	7.65%	MS
57	<i>maula</i>	7.53%	ML
58	<i>mocosita</i>	7.40%	FS
59	<i>moza</i>	7.38%	FS
60	<i>ingrata</i>	7.34%	FS
61	<i>pobrecita</i>	7.28%	FS
62	<i>cafisho</i>	7.03%	ML
63	<i>nena</i>	6.91%	FS
64	<i>bataclana</i>	6.85%	FL
65	<i>pibe</i>	6.84%	ML
66	<i>milonguero</i>	6.80%	ML
67	<i>rana</i>	6.68%	ML
68	<i>dueno</i>	6.64%	MS
69	<i>obrerita</i>	6.44%	FS
70	<i>rubia</i>	6.37%	FS
71	<i>chica</i>	6.21%	FS
72	<i>sargento</i>	6.09%	MS
73	<i>hermano</i>	5.96%	MS
74	<i>juez</i>	5.96%	MS
75	<i>novia</i>	5.76%	FS

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Term</i>	<i>AME Value (% Predictor)</i>	<i>Dataset</i>
76	<i>principe</i>	5.69%	MS
77	<i>hermana</i>	5.19%	FS
78	<i>paisano</i>	5.11%	MS
79	<i>nina</i>	4.87%	FS
80	<i>loco</i>	4.76%	MS

APPENDIX 4. Fitting the Linear Mixed Effects Model

Appendix 4.1. Correcting for Heteroscedasticity and Zero Inflation

This appendix presents details of fitting the Linear Mixed Effects Model as described in chapter four, section 4.3.3.

Preliminary exploration of the data indicated that zero-inflation was likely to be an issue, as seen in Figure 20, showing the distribution of the dependent variable, DPfreq, and in Figures 21 and 22, which show violin plots of the DPfreq conditional on Gender and Variety, respectively, all of which have high concentrations at zero. Figure 23 shows a histogram of the Termfreq variable, its heavy-tailed distribution suggesting that violations of normality and homoscedasticity are likely.

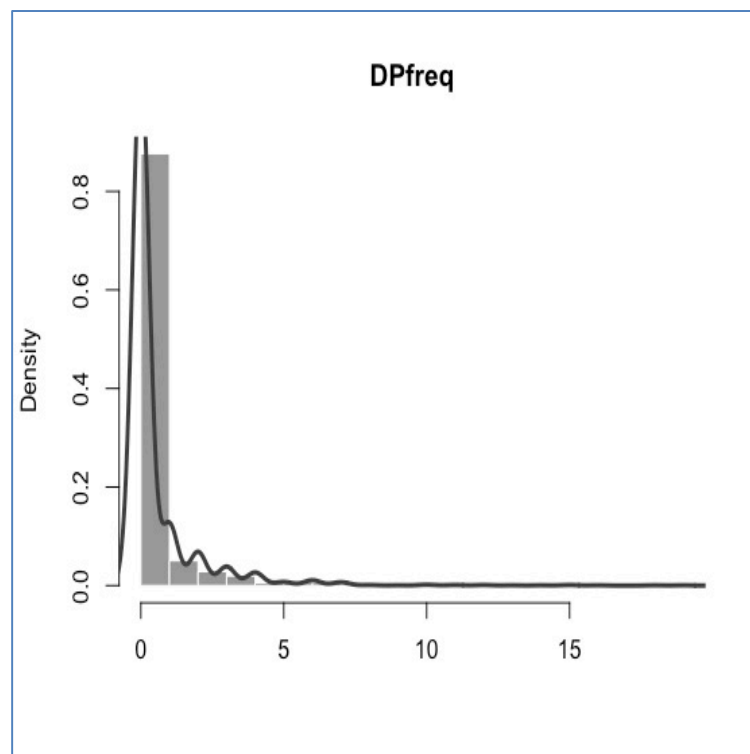


Figure 20 *Distribution of Dependent Variable: Dpfreq*

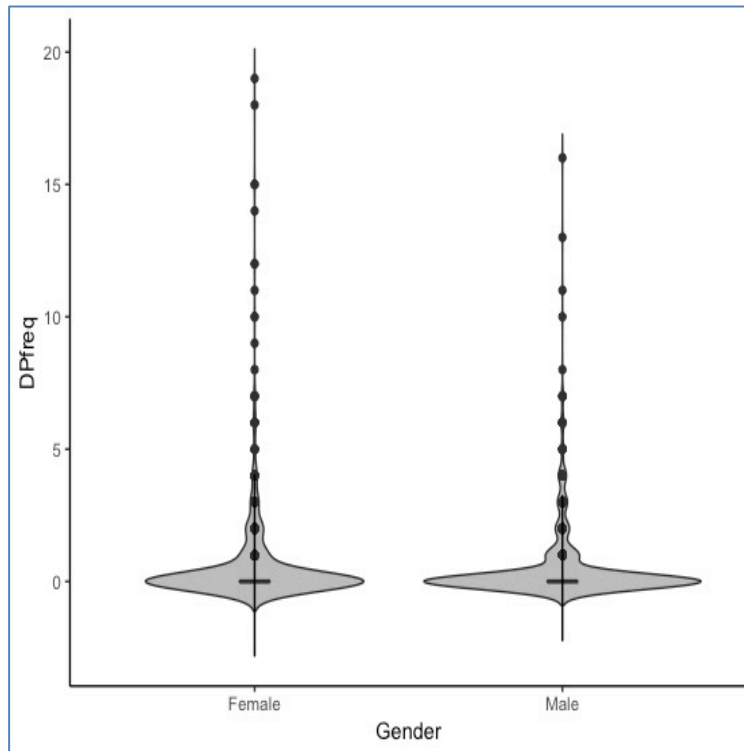


Figure 21 Violin Plot of *DPfreq* Conditional on Gender

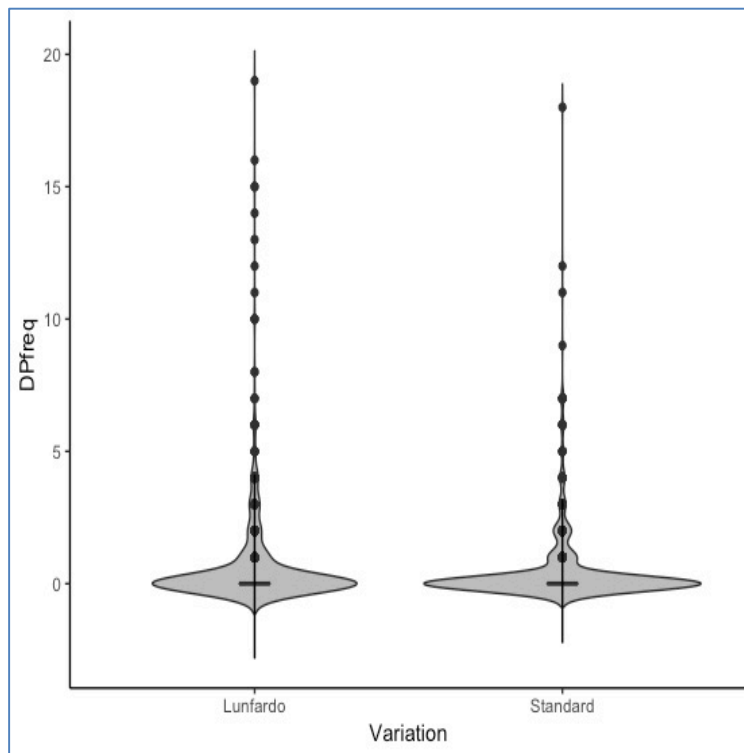


Figure 22 Violin Plot of *DPfreq* Conditional on Variety

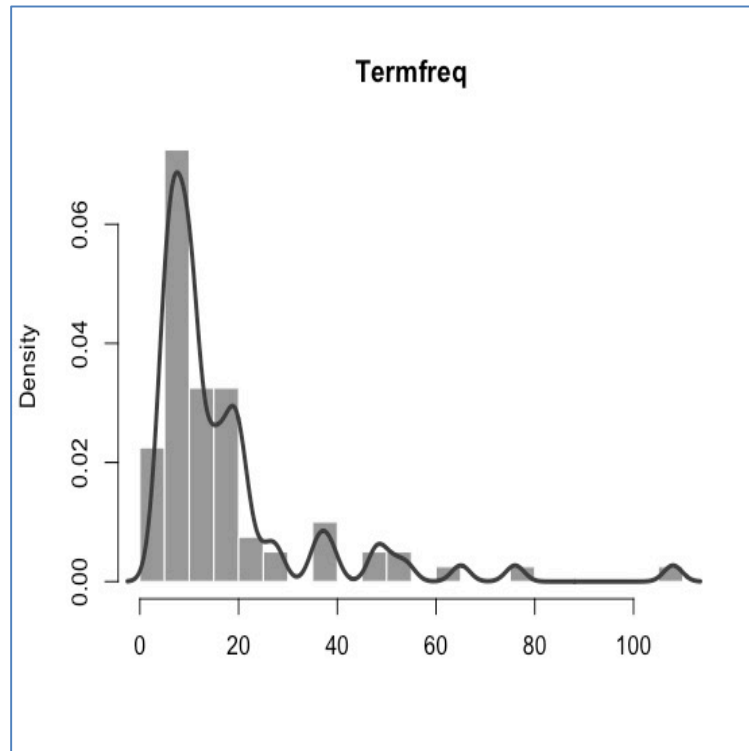


Figure 23 *Histogram of Variable Termfreq*

The question of outliers should be noted. Due to the small size of the corpus and the extreme differences in ranges of both continuous variables, made obvious by the histograms, the decision was made not to eliminate outliers, but to fit the model with outliers included. Termfreq was submitted as an offset value, which should mitigate much of the effects any outliers might have had. Regarding zero-inflation, and insofar as the discourse prosodies were not present for every term, it can be said that the majority of the zero counts are true negatives, although it must be allowed that some zeros may have resulted from observer error and are false negatives (Zuur et al. 270-1), however these are negligent.

The starting model was fitted in *lme4* (Bates “Fitting”), based on the following formula:

$$\text{Frequency of Discourse Prosodies} \sim \text{Variation} * \text{Gender} + \text{Term Frequency} + (1 | \text{Discourse Prosody}) + (1 | \text{Term}) + \epsilon^{325}$$

Which can be read as: the frequency of the discourse prosodies is predicted by variation, gender, and an interaction of variation and gender, taking into account the frequency of the terms in the corpus, with the discourse prosodies and the terms having random effects on the outcomes, plus random error. This is the R code:

```
model_DP_Term <- lmer(DPfreq ~ Termfreq +  
  (Variation*Gender) + (1|DP) + (1|Term), data=TLD, REML =F)
```

Unfortunately, this model presented potentially serious problems with violations of the assumptions of normality and homoscedasticity. Although the histogram of the residuals indicated a normal curve (Figure 24), the normal q-q plot revealed this to be marginally true (Figure 25).

³²⁵ Epsilon (ϵ) represents all other unaccountable and random error that may influence the data. These are unknowns that are not represented by actual variables. (Winter “Tutorial 1,” 3)

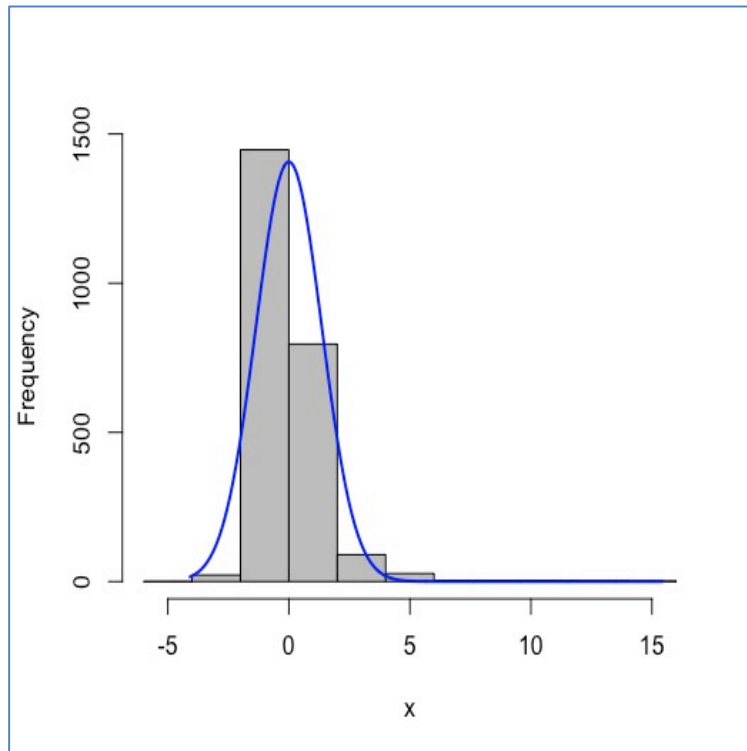


Figure 24 *Histogram of Residuals*

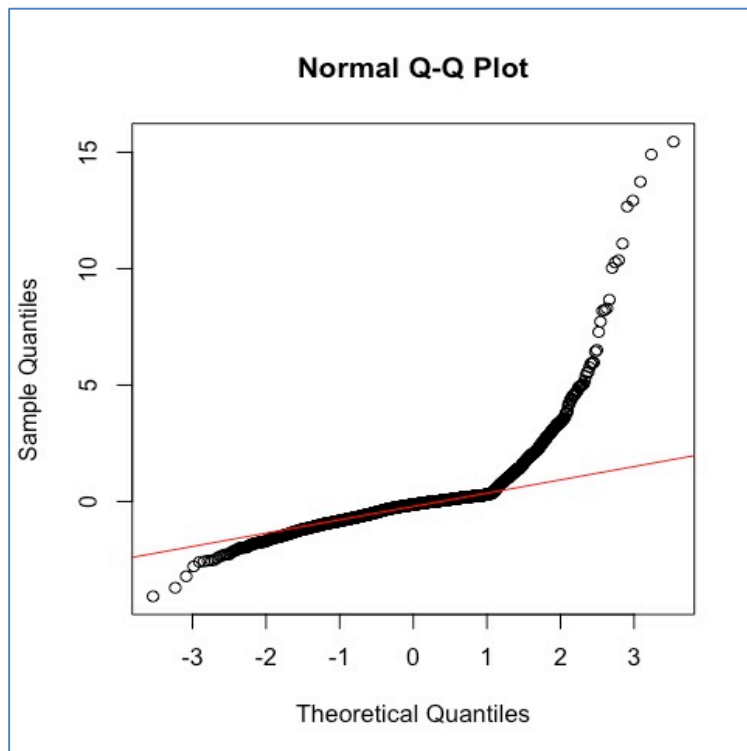


Figure 25 *Normal Q-Q Plot*

More concerning, however, was the scatterplot of the residuals, clearly indicating a violation of homoscedasticity, as seen in Figure 26:

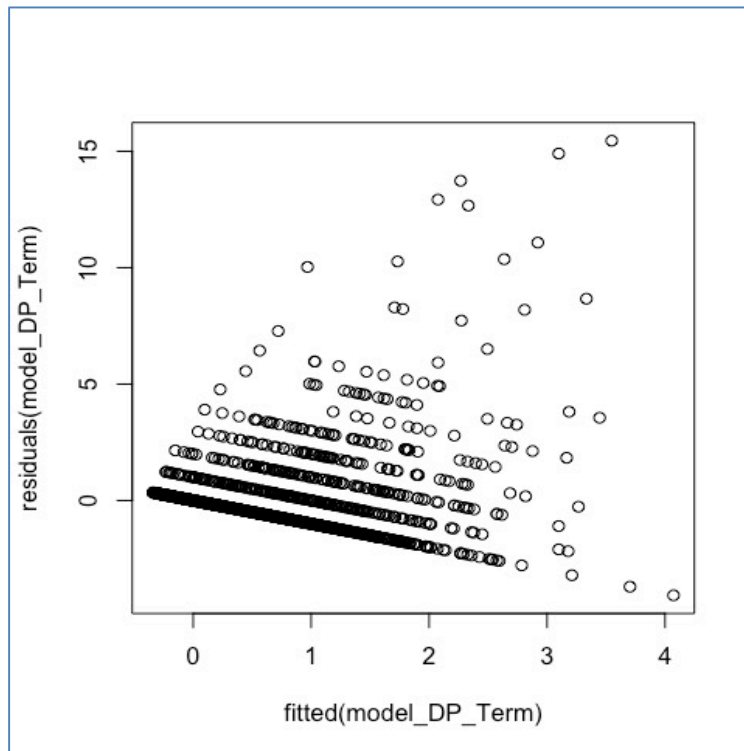


Figure 26 *Scatterplot of Residuals*

In order to rectify the heteroscedasticity, I first attempted to transform the data, using Square-root, Log10, and Tukey's Ladder of Powers transformations (Mangiafico 686-96), but these measures did not resolve the problem. I therefore fitted a zero-inflated negative binomial (ZINB) generalized linear mixed effects model (GLMM), and the R code formula for the final model (labeled TLD_zinb_model) is as follows:

```
TLD_zinb_model <- glmmTMB(DPfreq ~ (Variation*Gender) +
  offset(log(Termfreq)) + (1|DP) + (1|Term), data=TLD,
  ziformula = ~1, family=nbinom1)
```

Upon running a simulation model using *DHARMa* (Hartig), visual inspection of residual plots of the final model did not reveal any serious deviations from normality or homoscedasticity,³²⁶ as shown in Figure 27:

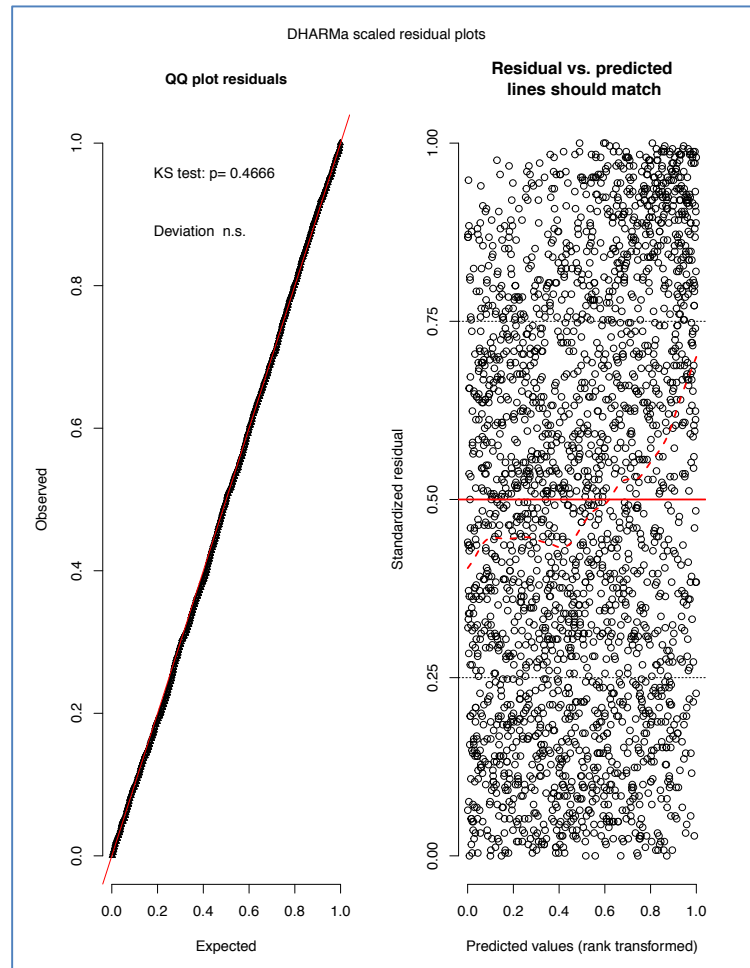


Figure 27 Normal Q-Q Plot (left) and Scatterplot of Residuals (right)

I therefore concluded that TLD_zinb_model was an acceptable model and proceeded with the statistical calculations, the results of which are reported in chapter four.

³²⁶ Corpus size, sample size, and the effects of chance may contribute to some deviations from a perfect residuals model and are to be expected (Hartig).

Appendix 4.2. Statistical Results Table

For detailed explanations of the elements and abbreviations in this and other statistical tables, see Field. However, what follows is a brief summary. The *Predictors* are the independent, or explanatory variables. The main variables in this instance are the two principal fixed effects, Variety and Gender. The *Estimates* (or *b*) are the regression coefficients, or slopes of the intercepts (Field 507). The *IRR* is the Incidence Rate Ratio and is used to report effect size in this type of output (Field 1176). *Standard error* is the standard deviation of sample means (Field 136). The *z-value* is “the value of an observation expressed in standard deviation units” (Field 1402). *CI* is the Confidence Interval. This is generally understood as 95% confidence that the means will fall within these intervals (Field 138). *P* represents the *p*-value, or the probability of the result being due to chance is very small; $p < 0.05$ (< 5%) is the generally accepted standard for statistical significance in studies of this kind (Field 146-47). σ^2 (sigma squared) is the variance: “the average dispersion of variables; the average error between the mean and the observations made” (Field, 93). τ (tau) represents Kendall’s tau, a non-parametric correlation coefficient (Field 50). *ICC* is the intraclass correlation, “assessing the consistency between measures of the same class” (Field 1386). *Marginal R^2* and *Conditional R^2* are related to “goodness of fit,” or the “percentage of the variation in the outcome that can be explained by the model” (Field 519). The “*R*” here is not to be confused with the software code “R.”

Table 34 *Statistical Results for TLD_zinb_model (Reproduced from chapter four)*

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimate (b)</i>	<i>IRR</i>	<i>DPfreq</i>		<i>z-value</i>	<i>CI</i>	<i>p</i>
			<i>Std. Error</i>				
Variety Lunfardo: Gender Female (Intercept)	-3.3	0.04	0.23		-14.39	0.02 - 0.06	<2e-16
Variety Standard: Gender Female	-0.58	0.56	0.17		-3.43	0.40 - 0.78	0.000599
Variety Lunfardo: Gender Male	-0.51	0.60	0.16		-3.11	0.45 - 0.83	0.001862
Variety Standard: Gender Male	0.38	1.44	0.24		1.60	0.92 - 2.34	0.109881
Zero-Inflated Model							
(Intercept)	-1.67	0.19	0.33		-5.03	0.10 - 0.36	4.94E-07
Random Effects							
σ^2	2.17						
τ^2_{00} Term	0.11						
τ^2_{00} DP	1.07						
ICC _{Term}	0.03						
ICC _{DP}	0.32						
Observations	2400						
Marginal R ² / Conditional R ²	0.02 / 0.37						

APPENDIX 5. Song Titles in the Tango Lyrics Corpus

These are the 285 tango lyrics in the corpus, listed alphabetically and including year of publication, lyricist, and composer.

<i>Title</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Lyricist</i>	<i>Composer</i>
Acquaforte	1931	Juan Carlos Marambio Catán	Horacio Pettorossi
Adiós argentina	1930	Fernán Silva Valdés	Gerardo Hernán Matos Rodríguez
Adiós muchachos	1927	César F. Vedani	Julio César Sanders
Agua florida	1928	Fernán Silva Valdés	Ramón Collazo
A la luz del candil	1927	Julio Navarrine	Carlos Vicente Geroni Flores
Alma de bohemio	1914	Juan Andrés Caruso	Roberto Firpo
Alma de loca	1927	Jacinto Font	Guillermo Cavazza
Alma en pena	1928	Francisco García Jiménez	Anselmo Aleta
Al pie de la santa cruz	1933	Mario Battistella	Enrique Delfino
Amigazo	1924	Francisco Brancatti y Juan M. Velich	Juan de Dios Filiberto
A mi no me den consejos	1930	Juan Andrés Caruso	Francisco Canaro y Luis Riccardi
Amores viejos	1917	Pascual Contursi	Enrique Delfino
Amurado	1926	José de Grandis	Pedro Maffia y Pedro Laurenz
Anoche a las dos	1926	Roberto Lino Cayol	Raúl de los Hoyos
Aquella cantina de la ribera	1926	José González Castillo	Cátulo Castillo
Aquel muchacho triste	1929	José de Grandis	José de Grandis
Aquel tapado de armiño	1928	Manuel Romero	Enrique Delfino
Araca corazón	1927	Alberto Vaccarezza	Enrique Delfino
Arrabalero	1927	Eduardo Calvo	Oswaldo Fresedo
Así se baila el tango	1942	Elizardo Martínez Vilas (pseudonym: Marvil)	Elías Randal
¡Atentí, pebeta!	1929	Celedonio Esteban Flores	Ciriaco Ortiz
Audacia	c. 1925	Celedonio Esteban Flores	Hugo La Rocca
Bailarín compadrito	1929	Miguel Eusebio Bucino	Miguel Eusebio Bucino
Bajo Belgrano	1926	Francisco García Jiménez	Anselmo Aieta

<i>Title</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Lyricist</i>	<i>Composer</i>
Bajo fondo	c. 1918	Enrique Dizeo	Augusto Umberto (Alberto) Gentile
Bandoneón arrabalero	1928	Pascual Contursi	Juan Bautista Deambroggio (pseudonym: Bachicha)
Barajando	1928	Eduardo Escariz Méndez	Nicolás Vaccaro
Barrio de tango	1942	Homero Manzi	Aníbal Troilo
Brindis de sangre	1935	Abel Fleury	José Suarez (pseudonym: Yamandú Rodríguez)
Buenos Aires	1923	Manuel Romero	Manuel Jovés
Cabecita loca (Roldán)	c. 1927	Luis Roldán	Enrique Delfino
Cabecitas locas (Alberti)	1927	León A. Alberti	Enrique Delfino
Caferata	1926	Pascual Contursi	Antonio Scatasso
Calandria	c. 1911	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo
Callejera	1929	Enrique Cadícamo	Fausto Frontera
Campana de plata	1925	Samuel Linnig	Carlos Vicente Geroni Flores
Cantando	1931	Mercedes Simone	Mercedes Simone
Carnaval	1927	Francisco García Jiménez	Anselmo Aleta
Carne de cabaret	c. 1920	Luis Roldán	Pacífico V. Lambertucci
Cascabelito	1924	Juan Andrés Caruso	José Böhr
Champagne tangó	c. 1914	Pascual Contursi	Manuel Aroztegui
Che Bartolo	1928	Enrique Cadícamo	Rodolfo Sciammarella
Che, papusa, oí	1927	Enrique Cadícamo	Gerardo Hernán Matos Rodríguez
Chiqué	c. 1920	Ricardo Luis Brignolo	Ricardo Luis Brignolo
Chorra	1928	Enrique Santos Discépolo	Enrique Santos Discépolo
Cicatrices	1925	Enrique P. Maroni	Adolfo Rafael Avilés
Claudinet	1940	Amleto Vergiati (pseudonym: Julián Centeya)	Enrique Delfino
Clavel del aire	1930	Fernán Silva Valdés	Juan de Dios Filiberto

<i>Title</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Lyricist</i>	<i>Composer</i>
Cocot de lujo	c. 1928	Manuel Romero	Antonio Scatasso
Cómo se pianta la vida	1929	Carlos Viván	Carlos Viván
Compadrón	1927	Enrique Cadícamo	Luis Visca
Copen la banca	1927	Enrique Dizeo	Juan Maglio
Corazón de papel	1930	Alberto Franco	Cátulo Castillo
Corrientes y Esmeralda	1934	Celedonio Esteban Flores	Francisco Pracánico
Cotorrita de la suerte	1927	José de Grandis	Alfredo de Franco
Cualquier cosa	1927	Herminia Velich de Rossano y Juan M. Velich	Herminia Velich de Rossano y Juan M. Velich
Cuando el corazón	1938	Carmelo Santiago	Francisco Canaro
Cuando llora la milonga	1927	María Luisa Carnelli (pseudonym: Luis Mario)	Juan de Dios Filiberto
Cuerpo de alambre	1910	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo
¡Cuidado con los cincuenta!	1907	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo
Culpas ajenas	1929	Jorge Curi	Ernesto Ponzio
Dale perejil al loro	c. 1918	E. Manfredi	E. Manfredi
De tardecita	1927	Carlos Álvarez Pintos	Nicolás Messutti
De todo te olvidas (Cabeza de novia)	1929	Enrique Cadícamo	Salvador Merico
Dejá el conventillo	1925	Francisco Ruiz París	Antonio Scatasso
Desde piba	1930	Francisco Alemán	Juan Bautista Guido
Desdichas	1923	Pascual Contursi	Augusto A. Gentile
De vuelta al bulín	c. 1914	Pascual Contursi	José Martínez
Dicen que dicen	1929	Alberto J. Ballestrero	Enrique Delfino
Dios te salve, m'hijo	1930	Luis Acosta Garcia	Agustín Magaldi Y Pedro Noda
Don Brocoli	c. 1918	payador Ambrosio Río	payador Ambrosio Río
Don Juan, el taita del barrio	c. 1910	Ricardo J. Podestá	Ernesto Ponzio
Dos en uno	c. 1929	Enrique Cadícamo	Rodolfo Sciammarella
Duelo criollo	1928	Manual Juan García Ferrari (pseudonym: Lito Bayardo)	Juan Rezzano
El 13 (Trece)	1913	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo	Albérico Spatola
El 14 (Catorce)	1914	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo	Albérico Spatola

<i>Title</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Lyricist</i>	<i>Composer</i>
El abrojo	1926	Jesús Fernández Blanco	Luis Bernstein
El bulín de la calle	1923	Celedonio Esteban Flores	José Servidio
Ayacucho			
El Cachafaz	c. 1915	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo	Manuel Aróztegui
El cafiso	c. 1918	Florencio Iriarte	Juan Canavesi
El carrerito	1928	Alberto Vaccarezza	Raúl de los Hoyos
El chimango	c. 1918	Florencio Iriarte	Juan Canavesi
El ciruja	1926	Francisco Alfredo Marino	Ernesto de la Cruz
El cornetín del tranvía	1937	Armando Juan Tagini	Oscar Arona
El criollo más criollo	1911	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo
El cuarteador	1942	Enrique Cadícamo	Enrique Cadícamo (Music signed with pseudonym Rosendo Luna)
El flete	1916	Pascual Contursi	Vicente Greco
El gigoló	1916- 1943	Luis Roldán	Enrique Delfino
El huracán	c. 1930	Nolo López	Osvaldo y Edgardo Donato
El irresistible (pesce)	1942	Carlos Pesce	Lorenzo Logatti
El irresistible (reguero)	1908- 1915	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo (pseudonym: Mario Reguero)	Lorenzo Logatti; Piano and vocal arrangements: Ángel Gregorio Villoldo
El malevo	1928	María Luisa Carnelli (pseudonym: Mario Castro)	Julio de Caro
El motivo (Pobre paica)	c. 1914	Pascual Contursi	Juan Carlos Cobián
El patotero sentimental	1922	Manuel Romero	Manuel Jovés
El pescante	1934	Homero Manzi	Sebastián Piana
El poncho del amor	1927	Alberto Vaccarezza	Antonio Scatasso
El Porteño	1903	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo
El rey del cabaret	1923	Manuel Romero	Enrique Delfino
El taita	1907	Silverio Manco	Alfredo Gobbi (padre)
El Taita del arrabal	1922	Luis Bayón Herrera y Manuel Romero	José Padilla

<i>Title</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Lyricist</i>	<i>Composer</i>
El torito	c. 1910	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo
En un feca	1924	Anonymous	Anonymous
Enfundá la mandolina	1930	Horacio Zuvería Mansilla	Francisco Pracánico
Esclavas blancas	1931	Horacio Pettorossi	Horacio Pettorossi
Esta noche	1937	Manual Juan García Ferrari (pseudonym: Lito Bayardo)	Carlos Marcucci
Esta noche me emborracho	1928	Enrique Santos Discépolo	Enrique Santos Discépolo
Farabute	1928	Antonio Casciani	Joaquín Barreiro
Farolito viejo	1927	José Eneas Riu	Luis Teisseire
Fea	1925	Alfredo Navarrine	Horacio Pettorossi
Fierro chifle	1928	Benjamín Tagle Lara	César De Pardo
Filigrana (Chita)	1929	Ernesto Echeverría	Plinio Boraschi
Flor de fango	c. 1914	Pascual Contursi	Augusto Gentile
Flor de trapo	1920	Luis Roldán	Carlos Vicente Geroni Flores
Florida de arrabal	1928	Francisco Rimoli (pseudonym: Dante A. Linyera)	Ricardo Luis Brignolo
Fosforerita	1925	Amaro Guira	Bartolomé Chapela
Francesita	1923	Alberto Vaccarezza	Enrique Delfino
Fumando espero	1922	Félix Garzo y Juan Filadomat	Juan V. Masanas
Gacho gris	1930	Juan Carlos Barthe	Alejandro Sarni
Galleguita	1924	Alfredo Navarrine	Horacio Pettorossi
Garabita	1926	Pascual Contursi	Bernardino Terés
Garúa	1943	Enrique Cadícamo	Aníbal Troilo
Garufa	1928	Roberto Fontaina y Victor Soliño	J.A. Collazo
Gloria	1927	Armando José Tagini	Humberto Canaro
Golondrinas	1934	Alfredo Le Pera	Carlos Gardel
Gricel	1942	José María Contursi	Mariano Mores
Griseta	1924	José González Castillo	Enrique Delfino
Guapo de la guardia vieja	1933	Enrique Cadícamo	Ricardo Cerebello
Haragán	1928	Manuel Romero y José Luis Bayón Herrera	Enrique Delfino
Inocencia	c. 1932	Mercedes Simone	Mercedes Simone
Ivette	c. 1914	Pascual Contursi	José Martínez
Julián	1924	José Luis Panizza	Edgardo Donato
Justicia criolla 1897	1897	Ezequiel Soria	Antonio Reynoso

<i>Title</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Lyricist</i>	<i>Composer</i>
Justicia criolla	1925	Francisco Brancatti	Rafael Iriarte
La biaba de un beso	1930	Enrique Cadícamo y Félix Manuel Pelayo	Pedro Maffia
La cabeza del italiano	1924	Francisco Bastardi	Antonio Scatasso
La casita de mis viejos	1931	Enrique Cadícamo	Juan Carlos Cobián
La copa del olvido	1921	Alberto Vaccarezza	Enrique Delfino
La cumparsita (Matos Rodríguez)	1925	Gerardo Hernán Matos Rodríguez	Gerardo Hernán Matos Rodríguez
La cumparsita (Si supieras)	1924	Pascual Contursi y Enrique P. Maroni	Gerardo Hernán Matos Rodríguez
La gayola	1926	Armando José Tagini	Rafael Tuegols
La he visto con otro	1926	Pascual Contursi	Antonio Scatasso
La mazorquera de Monserrat	1929	Héctor Pedro Blomberg	Enrique Maciel
La milonguera	c. 1915	Vicente Greco	Vicente Greco
La mina del Ford	1924	Pascual Contursi	Fidel del Negro y Antonio Scatasso
La Morocha	1905	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo	Enrique Saborido
La muchacha del circo	1928	Manuel Romero	Gerardo Hernán Matos Rodríguez
La musa mistonga	1926	Celedonio Esteban Flores	Antonio Polito
La novena	1933	Alfredo Bigeschi	Miguel Bonano
La que murió en París	1930	Héctor Pedro Blomberg	Enrique Maciel
La reina del tango	1928	Enrique Cadícamo	Rafael Iriarte
La ribera	1936	Manuel Romero	Alberto Soifer
La última copa	1925	Juan Andrés Caruso	Francisco Canaro
La Uruguayita Lucía	1929	Daniel López Barreto	Eduardo Pereyra
La viajera perdida	1930	Héctor Pedro Blomberg	Enrique Maciel
La violeta	1929	Nicolás Olivari	Cátulo Castillo
La viuda misteriosa	1929	Melecio Pérez	Pascual Contursi
Ladrillo	1926	Juan Andrés Caruso	Juan de Dios Filiberto
Langosta	1925	Juan Andrés Bruno (pseudonym: Julio A. Burón)	Juan de Dios Filiberto
Levanta la frente	1936	Antonio Nápoli	Agustín Magaldi
Llévatelo todo	1928	Rodolfo Sciammarella	Rodolfo Sciammarella
Lloró como una mujer	1929	Celedonio Esteban Flores	José María Aguilar

<i>Title</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Lyricist</i>	<i>Composer</i>
Loca	1922	Antonio Martínez Viérgol	Manuel Jovés
Loca bohemia	1928	Francisco Rimoli (pseudonym: Dante A. Linyera)	Francisco De Caro
Los disfrazados	1906	Carlos Mauricio Pacheco	Antonio Reynoso
Lunes	1927	Francisco García Jiménez	José Luis Padula
Madame Ivonne	1933	Enrique Cadícamo	Eduardo "Chon" Pereyra
Mala entraña	1927	Celedonio Esteban Flores	Enrique Maciel
Maldito tango	c. 1916	Luis Roldán	Osmán Pérez Freire
Malena	1942	Homero Manzi	Lucio Demare
Malevaje	1928	Enrique Santos Discépolo	Juan de Dios Filiberto
Mamá...yo quiero un novio	1927	Roberto Fontaina	Ramón Collazo
Mamita mía	c. 1927	Alberto Vaccarezza	Enrique Delfino
Mandria	1926	Francisco Brancatti y Juan M. Velich	Juan Carlos Rodríguez
Mano a mano	1923	Celedonio Esteban Flores	Carlos Gardel y José Razzano
Mano cruel	1928	Armando José Tagini	Carmelo Mutarelli
Marchetta	1926	Pascual Contursi	Anonymous
Margarita Gauthier	1935	Isaac Russofsky (pseudonym: Julio Jorge Nelson)	Joaquín Mauricio Mora
Margo	1945	Homero Expósito	Armando Pontier
Margot	1919	Celedonio Esteban Flores	Carlos Gardel y José Razzano
Marioneta	1928	Armando José Tagini	Juan José Guichandut
Matasano	1914	Pascual Contursi	Francisco Canaro
Maula	1927	Adolfo Mondino	Victor Soliño
Melenita de oro	1922	Samuel Linnig	Carlos Vicente Geroni Flores
Melodía de arrabal	1932	Alfredo Le Pera	Mario Battistella
Mentira	1932	Celedonio Esteban Flores	Francisco Pracánico
Mi noche triste (Lita)	1915	Pascual Contursi	Samuel Castriota
Mi papito	1928	Roberto Fontaina y Víctor Soliño	David Estévez Martín
Mi serenata	c. 1940	Juan Carlos Thorry	Edgardo Donato
Milonga fina	1924	Celedonio Esteban Flores	José Servidio
Milonguera	1929	Aguilar José María	Aguilar José María

<i>Title</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Lyricist</i>	<i>Composer</i>
Milonguita (Esthercita)	1920	Samuel Linnig	Enrique Delfino
Misa de once	1929	Armando José Tagini	Juan José Guichandut
Misterio	1934	Francisco García Jiménez	Agustín Bardi
Mocosita	1926	Víctor Soliño	Gerardo Hernán Matos Rodríguez
Mojarrita	1925- 1949	Enrique Cadícamo	Nicolás Verona
Moneda de cobre	1942	Horacio Sanguinette	Carlos Vivían
Muchacho	1924	Celedonio Esteban Flores	Edgardo Donato
Muñeca brava	1928	Enrique Cadícamo	Luis Visca
Muñequita	1918	Adolfo Herschell	Francisco J. Lomuto
Niño bien	1927	Roberto Fontaina y Víctor Soliño	Ramón Collazo
No aflojés	1931	Mario Battistela	Pedro Maffia
Noche de reyes	1926	Jorge Curi	Pedro Maffia
Noches de Colón	1926	Roberto Lino Cayol	Raúl de los Hoyos
No salgas de tu barrio	1927	Arturo J. Rodríguez Bustamonte	Enrique Delfino
No te engañes, corazón	1926	José María Caffaro Rossi	Rodolfo Sciammarella
¡Nostalgias! (Rief)	c. 1919	Juan Rief	Juan M. Vicente
Nubes de humo (Fume compadre)	1923	Manuel Romero	Manuel Jovés
Nunca es tarde (Todavía estás a tiempo)	1924	Celedonio Esteban Flores	Eduardo Pereyra
Nunca tuvo novio	1930	Enrique Cadícamo	Agustín Bardi
Oíme negro	1928	Rosita Quiroga	Rosita Quiroga
Olvidao	1932	Enrique Cadícamo	Guillermo D. Barbieri
Organito de la tarde	1923	José González Castillo	Cátulo Castillo
Oro muerto (Jirón porteño)	1926	Julio P. Navarrine	Juan Raggi
Otario que andás penando	1931	Alberto Vaccarezza	Enrique Delfino
Padre nuestro	1923	Alberto Vaccarezza	Enrique Delfino
Padrino pelao	1930	Julio Cantuarias	Enrique Delfino
Pan comido	1926	Enrique Dizeo	Ismael Florentino Gómez
Pato	1928	Ramón Collazo	Ramón Collazo

<i>Title</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Lyricist</i>	<i>Composer</i>
Pebeta graciosa	1925-1949	Enrique Cadícamo	Carlos Sánchez
Percal	1943	Homero Expósito	Domingo Federico
Pero yo sé	1928	Azucena Maizani	Azucena Maizani
Pinta brava	1925	Mario Battistella	Juan Carlos Pérez de la Riestra (pseudonym: Charlo)
Pipistrela	1933	Fernando Ochoa	Francisco Canaro
Pobre corazón mío	1926	Pascual Contursi	Antonio Scatasso
Pobre milonga	1923	Manuel Romero	Manuel Jovés
Pompas de jabón	1925	Enrique Cadícamo	Roberto Emilio Goyeneche
¿Por dónde andará?	1927	Atilio Supparo	Salvador Merico
Por qué canto así	1929	Celedonio Esteban Flores	José Razzano
Por qué se fue	c. 1928	Azucena Maizani	Azucena Maizani
¿Por qué soy reo?	1929	Manual A. Meaños y Juan M. Velich	Herminia Velich de Rossano
Por seguidora y por fiel	1930	Celedonio Esteban Flores	Ricardo Luis Brignolo
Portero, suba y diga...	1928	Luis César Amadori	Eduardo de Labar
Primer agua	1928	María Luisa Carnelli (pseudonym: Mario Castro)	Francisco de Caro
Primero yo	1929	José Rial	Rafael Rossi
Príncipe	1924	Francisco García Jiménez	Anselmo Aleta y Rafael Tuegols
Puente Alsina	1926	Benjamín Tagle Lara	Benjamín Tagle Lara
¡Qué calamidad!	1925	Pascual Contursi	Bernardino Terés
¡Qué lindo es estar metido!	1927	Pascual Contursi y Domingo Parra	Enrique Delfino
Quemá esas cartas	1928	Manuel Romero	Raúl de los Hoyos
Que nadie se entere	1936	Alberto Gómez	Alberto Gómez
¡Qué querés con esa cara! (la guitarrita)	1915	Pascual Contursi	Eduardo Arolas
¡Qué querés con ese loro!	1928	Manuel Romero	Enrique Delfino
¿Que querés con tu elegancia?	c. 1919	Alberto Ballerini	José Luis Padula
Que sí, que no	1872-1943	Eloísa D'Herbil De Silva	Eloísa D'Herbil De Silva

<i>Title</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Lyricist</i>	<i>Composer</i>
Quién hubiera dicho	1932	Luis César Amadori	Rodolfo Sciammarella
Quiero papita	c. 1932	María Luisa Carnelli (pseudonym: Mario Castro)	Ernesto Ponzio
Recuerdos de bohemia	1935	Manuel Romero	Enrique Delfino
Rosa, poneme una ventosa	1935	Manuel Romero	Enrique Delfino
Sangre bohemia	c. 1929	Francisco Brancatti	A. Trípodí
Santa milonguita	1933	Enrique Cadícamo	Enrique Delfino
Se cortó la redoblona	1916-1943	Luis Roldán	Antonio Scatasso
Se va la vida	1929	María Luisa Carnelli (pseudonym: Luis Mario)	Edgardo Donato
Seguí me consejo	1928	Eduardo Trongé y Juan Fernández	Salvador Merico
Sentencia	1923	Celedonio Esteban Flores	Pedro Maffia
Sentimiento gaucho	1924	Juan Andrés Caruso	Francisco y Rafael Canaro
Si soy así	1933	Antonio Botta	Francisco J. Lomuto
Siga el corso	1926	Francisco García Jiménez	Anselmo Aleta
Silbando	1923	José González Castillo	Cátulo Castillo y Sebastián Piana
Sobre el pucho	1922	José González Castillo	Sebastián Piana
Soledad	1934	Alfredo Le Pera	Carlos Gardel
Sonsa	1926	Emilio Fresedo	Raúl de los Hoyos
Soy tremendo	c. 1910	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo	Ángel Gregorio Villoldo
¡Soy un arlequín!	1928	Enrique Santos Discépolo	Enrique Santos Discépolo
Talán talán	1924	Alberto Vaccarezza	Enrique Delfino
Tata llevame pa'l centro	1929	Enrique P. Maroni	Félix Scolati
Tengo miedo	1926	Celedonio Esteban Flores	Almeyda
Tiempos viejos	1926	Manuel Romero	José María Aguilar
Tomala con soda	c. 1933	Manuel Romero	Francisco Canaro
Tomo y obligo	1931	Manuel Romero	Enrique Delfino
Tras cartón	1929	Santiago Adamini	Carlos Gardel
			Benito Bianquet (pseudonym: El Cachafaz), but possibly also Anselmo Aieta

<i>Title</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Lyricist</i>	<i>Composer</i>
Traviesa	c. 1926	Mario Battistella	Juan Carlos Pérez de la Riestra (pseudonym: Charlo)
Triste paica	1929	Homero Manzi	Juan Pecci
Un tropezón (He tenido un mal momento)	1927	Luis Bayón Herrera	Raúl de los Hoyos
Uno y uno	1929	Lorenzo Juan Traverso	Julio Fava Pollero
Ventanita de arrabal	1927	Pascual Contursi	Antonio Scatasso
Ventarrón	1932	José Horacio Staffolani	Pedro Maffia
Victoria	1929	Enrique Santos Discépolo	Enrique Santos Discépolo
Vida bohemia	1922-1972	Rafael D'Agostino y Ricardo García	Rafael D'Agostino y Ricardo García
Vieja recova	1930	Enrique Cadícamo	Rodolfo Sciammarella
Viejo ciego	1925	Homero Manzi	Sebastián Piana
Viejo rincón	1925	Roberto Lino Cayol	Raúl de los Hoyos
Viejo smoking	1930	Celedonio Esteban Flores	Guillermo D. Barbieri
Yira...yira	1929	Enrique Santos Discépolo	Enrique Santos Discépolo
Yo soy la rubia	c. 1905	Eloísa D'Herbil De Silva	Eloísa D'Herbil De Silva
Zorro gris	1920	Francisco García Jiménez	Rafael Tuegols